National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services Branch
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction des acquisitions et des services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE LEGENDARY VEIL:

New Light on Alexander Henry, the Elder, 1739-1824

by

Anatol L. Scott

©

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE

STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1994

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-94894-9

Canada

Name ANATOL LEOPOLD SCOTT

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

SUBJECT TERM

0334 U·M·I

SUBJECT CODE

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS

- Architecture 0729
- Art History 0377
- Cinema 0900
- Dance 0378
- Fine Arts 0357
- Information Science 0723
- Journalism 0391
- Library Science 0399
- Mass Communications 0708
- Music 0413
- Speech Communication 0459
- Theater 0465

EDUCATION

- General 0515
- Administration 0514
- Adult and Continuing 0516
- Agricultural 0517
- Art 0273
- Bilingual and Multicultural 0282
- Business 0688
- Community College 0275
- Curriculum and Instruction 0727
- Early Childhood 0518
- Elementary 0524
- Finance 0277
- Guidance and Counseling 0519
- Health 0680
- Higher 0745
- History of 0520
- Home Economics 0278
- Industrial 0521
- Language and Literature 0279
- Mathematics 0280
- Music 0522
- Philosophy of 0998
- Physical 0523
- Psychology 0525
- Reading 0535
- Religious 0527
- Sciences 0714
- Secondary 0533
- Social Sciences 0534
- Sociology of 0340
- Special 0529
- Teacher Training 0530
- Technology 0710
- Tests and Measurements 0288
- Vocational 0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

- Language
  - General 0679
  - Ancient 0289
  - Linguistics 0290
  - Modern 0291
- Literature
  - General 0401
  - Classical 0294
  - Comparative 0295
  - Medieval 0297
  - Modern 0298
  - African 0316
  - American 0591
  - Asian 0305
  - Canadian (English) 0352
  - Canadian (French) 0355
  - English 0593
  - Germanic 0311
  - Latin American 0312
  - Middle Eastern 0315
  - Romance 0313
  - Slavic and East European 0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

- Philosophy 0422
- Religion
  - General 0318
  - Biblical Studies 0321
  - Clergy 0319
  - History of 0320
  - Philosophy of 0322
- Theology 0469

SOCIAL SCIENCES

- American Studies 0323
- Anthropology
  - Archaeology 0324
  - Cultural 0326
  - Physical 0327
- Business Administration
  - General 0310
  - Accounting 0272
  - Banking 0770
  - Management 0454
  - Marketing 0338
- Canadian Studies 0385
- Economics
  - General 0501
  - Agricultural 0503
  - Commerce-Business 0505
  - Finance 0508
  - History 0509
  - Labor 0510
  - Theory 0511
- Folklore 0358
- Geography 0366
- Gerontology 0351
- History
  - General 0578
  - Ancient 0579
  - Medieval 0581
  - Modern 0582
  - Black 0328
  - African 0331
  - Asia, Australia and Oceania 0332
  - Canadian 0334
  - European 0335
  - Latin American 0336
  - Middle Eastern 0333
  - United States 0337
- History of Science 0585
- Law 0398
- Political Science
  - General 0615
  - International Law and Relations 0616
  - Public Administration 0617
- Recreation 0814
- Social Work 0452
- Sociology
  - General 0626
  - Criminology and Penology 0627
  - Demography 0938
  - Ethnic and Racial Studies 0631
  - Individual and Family Studies 0628
  - Industrial and Labor Relations 0629
  - Public and Social Welfare 0630
  - Social Structure and Development 0700
  - Theory and Methods 0344
- Transportation 0709
- Urban and Regional Planning 0999
- Women's Studies 0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

- Agriculture
  - General 0473
  - Agronomy 0285
  - Animal Culture and Nutrition 0475
  - Animal Pathology 0476
  - Food Science and Technology 0359
  - Forestry and Wildlife 0478
  - Plant Culture 0479
  - Plant Pathology 0480
  - Plant Physiology 0817
  - Range Management 0777
  - Wood Technology 0746
- Biology
  - General 0306
  - Anatomy 0287
  - Biostatistics 0308
  - Botany 0309
  - Cell 0379
  - Ecology 0329
  - Entomology 0353
  - Genetics 0369
  - Limnology 0793
  - Microbiology 0410
  - Molecular 0307
  - Neuroscience 0317
  - Oceanography 0416
  - Physiology 0433
  - Radiation 0821
  - Veterinary Science 0778
  - Zoology 0472
- Biophysics
  - General 0786
  - Medical 0760

EARTH SCIENCES

- Biogeochemistry 0425
- Geochemistry 0996
- Geodesy 0370
- Geology 0372
- Geophysics 0373
- Hydrology 0388
- Mineralogy 0411
- Paleobotany 0345
- Paleoecology 0426
- Paleontology 0418
- Paleozoology 0985
- Palynology 0427
- Physical Geography 0368
- Physical Oceanography 0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

- Environmental Sciences 0768
- Health Sciences
  - General 0566
  - Audiology 0300
  - Chemotherapy 0992
  - Dentistry 0567
  - Education 0350
  - Hospital Management 0769
  - Human Development 0758
  - Immunology 0982
  - Medicine and Surgery 0564
  - Mental Health 0347
  - Nursing 0569
  - Nutrition 0570
  - Obstetrics and Gynecology 0380
  - Occupational Health and Therapy 0354
  - Ophthalmology 0381
  - Pathology 0571
  - Pharmacology 0419
  - Pharmacy 0572
  - Physical Therapy 0382
  - Public Health 0573
  - Radiology 0574
  - Recreation 0575
  - Speech Pathology 0460
  - Toxicology 0383
- Home Economics 0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences

- Chemistry
  - General 0485
  - Agricultural 0749
  - Analytical 0486
  - Biochemistry 0487
  - Inorganic 0488
  - Nuclear 0738
  - Organic 0490
  - Pharmaceutical 0491
  - Physical 0494
  - Polymer 0495
  - Radiation 0754
- Mathematics 0405
- Physics
  - General 0605
  - Acoustics 0986
  - Astronomy and Astrophysics 0606
  - Atmospheric Science 0608
  - Atomic 0748
  - Electronics and Electricity 0607
  - Elementary Particles and High Energy 0798
  - Fluid and Plasma 0759
  - Molecular 0609
  - Nuclear 0610
  - Optics 0752
  - Radiation 0756
  - Solid State 0611
- Statistics 0463

Applied Sciences

- Applied Mechanics 0346
- Computer Science 0984
- Engineering
  - General 0537
  - Aerospace 0538
  - Agricultural 0539
  - Automotive 0540
  - Biomedical 0541
  - Chemical 0542
  - Civil 0543
  - Electronics and Electrical 0544
  - Heat and Thermodynamics 0348
  - Hydraulic 0545
  - Industrial 0546
  - Marine 0547
  - Materials Science 0794
  - Mechanical 0548
  - Metallurgy 0743
  - Mining 0551
  - Nuclear 0552
  - Packaging 0549
  - Petroleum 0765
  - Sanitary and Municipal 0554
  - System Science 0790
- Geotechnology 0428
- Operations Research 0796
- Plastics Technology 0795
- Textile Technology 0994

PSYCHOLOGY

- General 0621
- Behavioral 0384
- Clinical 0622
- Developmental 0620
- Experimental 0623
- Industrial 0624
- Personality 0625
- Physiological 0989
- Psychobiology 0349
- Psychometrics 0632
- Social 0451

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Anatol L. Scott

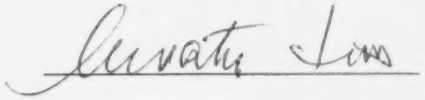
TITLE OF THESIS: The Legendary Veil:
New Light on Alexander Henry, the Elder, 1739-1824.

DEGREE: Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1994

PERMISSION IS HEREBY GRANTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY TO REPRODUCE SINGLE COPIES OF THIS THESIS AND TO LEND OR SELL SUCH COPIES FOR PRIVATE, SCHOLARLY OR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PURPOSES ONLY.

THE AUTHOR RESERVES ALL OTHER PUBLICATION AND OTHER RIGHTS IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE COPYRIGHT IN THE THESIS AND, EXCEPT AS HEREINBEFORE PROVIDED NEITHER THE THESIS NOR ANY SUBSTANTIAL PORTION THEREOF MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE REPRODUCED IN ANY MATERIAL FORM WHATEVER WITHOUT THE AUTHOR'S PRIOR WRITTEN PERMISSION.



11820 - 131 Avenue

Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

T5E 0W8

Date: 13/09/94

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **The Legendary Veil: New Light on Alexander Henry, the Elder, 1739-1824 submitted by *Anatol Leopold Scott*** in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of **Master of Arts**.

John E. Foster (*Supervisor*)

David C. Johnson (*Committee Chair*)

Ian S. MacLaren (*Committee Member*)

David C. Mills (*Committee Member*)

Date: 13/09/94

.....

The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones.

William Shakespeare,
Julius Caesar

DEDICATION

To: James F. Mitchell, Prime Minister of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, the islands which shaped so many of my thoughts, and the 'home' to which I may not return; to my parents, buried there, who were the first to sense possible potential; to the five brothers and two sisters, since spread across the globe, from whom due to circumstances beyond control, I was separated almost forty, lonely years ago; to the daughter I did not acknowledge, and the many 'lost' grand-children she has since mothered; to the daughter (one grand-child) and one son, who between them, despite poverty and pain, had sufficient faith to suggest that I pursue an academic career at a late age in life; to the woman, Nelli Gavinchuk, who came late into our lives, who shared my parents' and the children's faith, who brooked no 'negatives', and who distinguished herself by putting up with my 'absences' through the long days and nights spent pursuing the improbable dream. May this be only the first of many instalments!

ABSTRACT

The fur trade spawned a new social order, not only in Western Canada but as far east as Montreal. The microcosmic evolution of this new society can be traced in the lives of the men who became the bedrock of that society after the Conquest of Quebec. Their influences extended far beyond its borders, and the legends they inspired still dominate much of our twentieth-century Canadian history. In the lifetime of these individuals, many of the social 'ways' which later became part of the norms of Canada were already evident: estrangement of the Indian and mixed-blood populations from the evolving social order; replacement of French by English as the dominant language in Montreal society; growth of anti-Americanism; and the growth of an imperial British bias.

By assembling a readily available body of knowledge on Alexander Henry, the Elder, and by linking it to other information scattered in various fur trade Journals and items of Correspondence, this thesis attempts to create a biographical profile which will give some new insights into the life of Alexander Henry, the Elder; into the lives of those individuals by whom he was influenced and those who were influenced, in turn, by him. The effects of these several interlocking relationships will then be followed as they translated themselves into the new social orders then beginning to develop in Eastern and Western Canada.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

A special 'Thank You' goes out to Dr. John Elgin Foster, who had the patience to accept a rambunctious student, the care to temper my sometimes too ebullient passions, and the courage to follow my thoughts through treacherous shoals while redirecting them toward a more disciplined beginning. In this regard also, the supportive role of Dr. David Mills, who encouraged me to pursue the illusive concept of the power of ideas in transforming men's lives, must also be acknowledged. Dr. Ian MacLaren arrived late on the scene, but a considerable debt is owed him for his timely advice, assistance and suggestions for further reading. Behind these individuals lurks another -- Dr. James F. Forrest, of the English Department, whose wise counsel, at a strategic moment in my academic career, enabled a painless transfer of my love for English Literature to a more combative and appropriate field.

However, without the encouragement of many enthusiastic and like-minded professors and students too numerous to mention here, along with the warm support of Dr. David Johnson, Chairman, Graduate Studies, History Department, and his able Assistant, Lydia Dugbazah, this work could not have been completed. In a like vein, a word of gratitude is extended to the staff of the Student Financial Aid & Information Centre, University of Alberta, and especially to the then Coordinator, Jiang Liu, for the heaven-sent assistance they provided at crucial moments.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I	Introduction	1
Chapter II	Expressions of Loyalty	8
Chapter III	Years of Struggle	20
Chapter IV	'The Veil'	52
Chapter V	Behind 'The Veil'	77
Chapter VI	Conclusions	106
Bibliography		113

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

The name Alexander Henry, the Elder, holds such a revered place in Western Canadian historiography that descriptions of the area's early fur trade history have had to take his written record into consideration. His *Travels and Adventures in Canada*[1] is important because it is one of the few sources from which historians have been able to glean information about conditions and circumstances faced by early English-speaking fur traders who penetrated the St. Lawrence trade shortly after the Conquest of New France. Just as important, his work provides many insights into the adaptive process then being experienced by a portion of the Western Indian population at a crucial period in its history. As a result of harvesting the information contained in the works of such men, historians have, at the end of the twentieth century, a more panoramic and comprehensive view of early developments in Western Canada than even the most knowledgeable early participants in the fur trade may have had.

The question may be asked, therefore: Why another thesis on this much-researched subject? The answer to that question lies at the heart of the nature and purpose of history; it is never complete, for the simple reason that, with the passage of time, each generation asks questions from perspectives that either have not been pursued before, or are put in such a way that the questioner is driven to penetrate deeper into the subject than others of a preceding generation. In this regard, there is one area of Western Canadian historiography which has repeatedly been of concern to this researcher. This

---

[1]Alexander Henry (The Elder), *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776* (New York: printed and published by I. Riley, 1809); ed. James Bain (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1901); facs. repr. of 1901 ed. (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1966). References throughout are to the facsimile reprint.

concern may be put in the form of a question: Do historians have sufficient information on the individual fur traders whose written documents are the source of much of their historical evidence?

In the case of Alexander Henry, for example, almost nothing about his pre-fur trade life is known. Apart from his *Travels*, information on his involvement in the trade is spotty, consisting of scattered bits and pieces in the records of contemporaries. Of his later years, after his active pursuits in the trade had ended, even less is known. Because of this lack of integrated information, the sense of assurance which should come from being familiar with Henry does not exist, and the reader, who places emphasis on the witness, is put in an uncomfortable position. With no means of knowing the witness, the reader must either accept the veracity of his observations and judgements or question the reliability of the source.

Given that biases are always operational in the strategic quotations used by historians, it would seem important that the discriminating reader should have some familiarity with the witness so that he could be more fully aware of how the witness' bias may have affected the evidence and be able to judge, more effectively, how the historian may have been influenced in his work by the original bias of the witness. In history, one method of identifying and balancing bias is through biographical research on the original witness. Through it, the reader is given the power to arbitrate over the extent of bias in the judgements or observations being made by that witness on matters pertaining to distant peoples and events which the reader cannot know and of which he/she cannot be intrinsically a part. Biographical research is, therefore, one of the tools which the reader can employ to protect against involvement in a discussion which may have been biased from the beginning.

The intentions behind this work are: to examine the

scattered body of information which exists on Alexander Henry, the Elder; to place it beside evidence provided by other witnesses of the day; to enquire into its reliability or lack of same; and to determine whether, in light of the total body of evidence, Henry's prominence and placement as a witness is justified or not. The question may be asked: Of all the fur traders, why the choice of Alexander Henry, the Elder? In answer it will be admitted that my interest in the Elder came about indirectly, through my first having been exposed to his nephew, Alexander Henry, the Younger, whom Elliott Coues[2] has made even more prominent in the historiography.

The younger Henry's journal was the first to raise the question of bias to an uncomfortable level. It is difficult to accept, with equanimity, certain judgements made by the younger Henry. An example may be quoted here:

> I here bid adieu to the tribes with whom I have passed 16 long winters. During this time I have experienced every trouble, danger, and inconvenience which attends the management of affairs among that turbulent nation. I have been frequently fired at by them and have had several narrow escapes for my life. But I am happy to say they never pillaged me to the value of a needle ... I sincerely believe that competitive trade among the Saulteurs is the greatest slavery a person of any feeling can undergo. A common dramshop in a civilized country is a paradise compared to the

---

[2]Alexander Henry (The Younger), *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry, Fur Trader of the Northwest Company, and of David Thompson, Official Geographer and Explorer of the same Company 1799-1814: Exploration and Adventure among the Indians on the Red, Saskatchewan, Missouri, and Columbia Rivers*, ed. Elliott Coues, 3 vols., (Minneapolis, Minn.: Ross & Haines, 1897); repr. (Minneapolis, Minn.: Ross & Haines, 1965). References throughout are to the 1965 reprint.

> Indian trade, where two or more different interests are striving to obtain the greater share of the Indians' hunts -- particularly among the Saulteurs, who are always ready to take advantage of the situation by disposing of their skins and furs to the highest bidder. No ties, former favors, or services rendered, will induce them to give up their skins for one penny less than they can get elsewhere. Gratitude is a stranger to them; grant them a favor to-day, and to-morrow they will suppose it their due. Love of liquor is their ruling passion, and when intoxicated they will commit any crime to obtain more drink.[3]

The difficulty with these statements lies in reconciling a people who 'never pillaged [him] to the value of a needle' with the subsequent portions of the passage which combine to make of the Saulteurs an unconscionable, obstreperous, selfish, drunken people from whom the younger Henry could not be separated too soon. Attempts to arrive at a plausible reason for the discrepancy in this and many similar statements by Alexander Henry, the Younger, led to some disturbing discoveries. There is no original manuscript of the Younger's journal. Elliott Coues' first published volumes of the work, from which every major historian of Western Canada seems to have quoted, were 'bowdlerized,' by Coues, to such an extent that, in 1988, Barry Gough found it necessary to ensure that the full Coventry copy of the non-existent original manuscript be finally published.[4]

A comparison of Coues' with Gough's edition is, in

---

[3]Ibid, 452.

[4]Alexander Henry (The Younger), *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger 1799-1814*, ed. Barry M. Gough, 2 vols., Publications of the Champlain Society LVI, LVII (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1988).

itself, an education in the necessity for usage of original source materials by historians. But if this were not sufficient, there are other disturbing matters: an important two-year period is missing from the journal; editorial rewriting of the copied original, supposedly by George Coventry, "adorned with religious reflections on the goodness of God in drowning so estimable a man,"[5] has also been noted. The reasons for most of the problems involved in the Coventry copy of the journal will be touched on here, but only incidentally, for it has to be made clear that this is not the *raison d'être* for the present work. Rather, the attempt to retrace the history of the Younger's journal and to flesh out a more meaningful biography of the younger Henry led, as a result of too many unanswerable questions, to his supposed patron, Alexander Henry, the Elder, and to the even more disturbing suspicion that much of what was unsettling in accepting the Younger as a witness, on matters pertaining to Indian peoples, had been merely a repeat, in a more virulent form, of similar expressions in the Elder's book.

Alexander Henry, the Elder, is celebrated as one of the earliest of the English-speaking fur traders to have adventured through the St. Lawrence. His record of the events at Michilimackinac during Pontiac's uprising has accorded him an important place in our Western Canadian historiography. Added to this, as a prominent Montreal businessman later in life, he has been further credited with being one of the founders of the Beaver Club. The historical consensus is that these were the most enduring aspects of the man and his life. The research undertaken here supports this general consensus but, by digging deeper into the scattered records of other fur traders and by applying bits and pieces of, at times, seemingly unrelated information to Henry's life, a far more complex picture, involving the man, his business affairs, and

---

[5]Henry, *New Light*, vol. 1, xii.

his family emerges.

The work has been guided by two themes which, early in the research, emerged as having been important to Alexander Henry, the Elder. The first of these themes can be described as loyalty. For Henry, it seems to have been a means of determining whether individuals would be included in or excluded from his immediate circle. As such, it was the most important factor in Henry's business, personal, and family relationships. The second theme, patronage, is related to the first. Those who were judged to have been loyal could profit by being included in a patronage network. The latter is of considerable importance in discussing Henry; for most of his years in Montreal he seems to have struggled to establish a patronage network of able young traders which was separate from that being operated by the North West Company. Although he met with considerable frustration in this regard, the findings of this research suggest that, in the end, Henry may have been extremely successful in that it was his patronage network which eventually played a decisive role in bringing about the demise of the North West Company. Ultimately, however, this is a study of the effects which exclusion can bring about in the lives of individuals who are denied, for different reasons, a share in the wealth and in the social structures which they helped to create.

In this regard, a personal note seems in order. During the reading of this thesis, it will become clear that much of its content could have been explored on the basis of patron-client relationships. Had this methodology been chosen, the thesis could still have emerged as an interesting undertaking. However, I should like to admit that I have been disadvantaged (or advantaged) by a personal bias; I have a strong antipathy toward histories which are anchored in socio-cultural theories and concepts. The tendency to then make the historical actors conform to those theories usually results in transparent, mostly unconvincing histories. Because of the strictures of

the theories underlying patronage and clientilism, these concepts have a tendency of imposing limitations. Although both concepts can play an important role in helping us to understand the relations between groups of individuals in Henry's day, they do not allow us to regard each individual as a unique being and, if we are to understand the individual's uniqueness, we should let the life experiences of each individual convey its own meaning to us. We should avoid changing or limiting those experiences in order to make the individuals fit our socio-cultural theories.

CHAPTER II - EXPRESSIONS OF LOYALTY

Although we have not been favoured with a clear expression of Alexander Henry, the Elder's political or social views when he first entered Quebec, we surmise that he was more than likely pro-British and anti-French. As a supplier to Amherst's army, his partiality would not have been very different from that of the majority of colonists in the British-American colonies. For well over a century, these British colonials had contended with the French and *Canadien* menaces which expressed themselves in the form of repeated incursions on the northern and western frontiers of the Thirteen Colonies.

The aggressive fur trade pursuits of French Government officials and *Canadiens*, backed by French merchants and shippers, and the resulting interminable Indian raids and wars which had arisen among the politically ambivalent Indian bands engaged in hunting and trapping, did not encourage good relations between France and Britain. By 1754, the situation had grown so tense that "England and France condemned each other for reopening hostilities, and each set about readying an army for America."[1] The first casualties in the opening salvo between these imperial giants were the Acadians. By 1756, the Seven Years War, a battle for the larger and ultimate prize, New France itself, was launched. Given the general recognition by colonials that the ongoing war was intrinsically a part of the larger struggle for dominance of a continent, and that Henry apparently wrote his *Travels* almost half a century after the British conquest, it is not surprising that Henry's loyalty to Britain is taken for

---

[1]Naomi Griffiths, *The Acadians: Creation of a People*, Frontenac Library 6 (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1973): 38-53.

granted.

He did not enter New France with Amherst's army as a fighting man; his interest was mostly of an opportunistic and commercial nature. In his own words he saw the venture as a "premature attempt to share in the fur-trade of Canada, directly on the conquest of the country."[2] In anticipation of a final British victory over the French and of the opening of new opportunities which that victory would entail, a substantial degree of commercial self-interest was aroused among enterprising British-colonial adventurers. Alexander Henry and Henry Bostwick[3] were only the forerunners of a considerable number of "merchants from the Thirteen Colonies ... who came with the relieving forces."[4] Despite having been the first trader to arrive at Michilimackinac in 1761, when Henry returned there from Sault Saint Marie in May 1763, already there were in place "several other traders, who had arrived before [him], from different parts of the country."[5]

Henry's subsequent adventures, so beautifully described in *Travels*, should not be construed, as did early writers,[6] as a tale of adventuring aimlessly among exotic Indians in

---

[2]Alexander Henry (The Elder), *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776* (New York: printed and published by I. Riley, 1809); ed. James Bain (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1901); facs. repr. of 1901 ed. (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1966), Author's Preface.

[3]Ibid, 12.

[4]Donald Creighton, *The Empire of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1956), 23.

[5]Henry, *Travels*, 72.

[6]See, for example, Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1838); new ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1923).

pursuit of a few furs. Unlike that supposed uncle William,[7] because of his work Henry deserved to be given a prominent place among early travel writers, such as Sir Alexander Mackenzie,[8] one of the explorers who charted virgin territory, explored among new peoples, and introduced the rest of the world to new horizons. Given the nature of their discipline, and the paucity of first-hand accounts on the period, historians were among the first to recognize Henry's *Travels* as a work of much importance to their understanding of the early Western frontier.

Henry's judgement of his adventure, based on hindsight and much disappointment[9] forty-eight years later, should not

---

[7]Proof that this was actually an uncle or even a relative of Alexander Henry, the Elder, does not exist in any of the major works on Henry. Bain suggests, with reference to Alexander Henry, that,

> In Boston, in 1766, a book of 160 pages was published, entitled *Account of the Captivity of William Henry in 1755, and of his residence among the Senneka Indians six years and seven months, till he made his escape from them*, which may be an explanation of his introduction to the fur trade. Of this book no copy seems to be known. It cannot be traced in the catalogues of any of the great American or English libraries, and is not to be found in the bibliographies of Sabine, Rich, Field or Pilling. Of William Henry we only know that he was a trader with the Ohio Indians, and was made prisoner by the Senecas, and in the absence of his book have no means of tracing him, but the name is not a common one. At the time of William's captivity, Alexander was sixteen years old. It is not improbable that the first named was a near relative, perhaps uncle, and that Alexander had been by him introduced to the trade while very young (*Travels*, vi).

[8]See Sir Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in 1789 and 1793* London: 1801; (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1903.

[9]That Henry was disappointed at a later stage of his life, will become clear during this thesis.

be allowed to mislead us; his attempt to enter the fur trade may have been premature, given the many difficulties he encountered but, by entering when he did, he gained a strategic advantage over all later comers. Of this he was fully cognizant and proud: "The exclusive trade of Lake Superior was given to myself, by the commandant of Fort Michilimackinac."[10] By having easy, almost immediate, access to the necessary capital, which would enable him to pursue his western interest in the unfolding British conquest, Henry and others like him easily succeeded in nullifying any attempt, by the newly-estranged *Canadien* traders, to restructure their finances in accordance with the new demands called for by the changed imperial circumstance. In Henry's words, "proposing to avail myself of the new market, which was thus thrown open to British adventure, I hastened to Albany, where my commercial connections were, and where I procured a quantity of goods, with which I set out."[11]

Unlike the *Canadiens*, such as Jean Baptiste Cadotte and Charles Langlade[12] whose long-term presence should have been

---

[10]Henry, *Travels*, 184.

[11]Ibid, 3.

[12]That these men did not gain this advantage was not necessarily due to their having been French-speaking in a society which had suddenly been taken over by the English. In this regard, see the interesting discussion on the subject of the 'decapitation' of the French bourgeois by Quebec historians in *The Debate on the Bourgeoisie and Social Change in French Canada, 1700-1850*, ed. Dale Miquelon (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1977). As Heather Devine has recently demonstrated, Sir William Johnson's tentacles were very extensive {See Heather Devine, "Roots in the Mohawk Valley: Sir William Johnson's Legacy in the Northwest Company," *The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference, Mackinac Island, Michigan, 1991* ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown, W.J. Eccles, and Donald P. Heldman (East Lansing/Mackinac Island, Michigan: Michigan State University Press; Mackinac State Historic Parks, 1994): 217-42. The author gratefully acknowledges Heather Devine's having provided a manuscript copy of the above article during the

of considerable advantage, there was, for Henry, no financial dependence on distant French merchants or the French King. He and others around Albany had accumulated a considerable amount of experience in fur trading as a result of their involvement with the trade under the auspices of Sir William Johnson. Their experience may not have been first-hand in terms of dealing directly with Indians, but sensing an historic opportunity, they immediately grasped the initiative and, because of the dislocation to *Canadien* finances, they were able to form connections with *Canadien* traders and Indians in the Indian country and gain, in a short period of time, an uncontested command over the lucrative Western fur trade.

Like most British-American colonials, Henry "respected wealth and those who had wealth."[13] Especially for one of his background, supposedly "reputable people in the middle rank of life,"[14] wealth could be gained only through relentless effort in pursuit of the few opportunities which would present themselves. In this regard, the primacy of his relationship

---

preparation of this thesis}. According to Henry's evidence, those tentacles had extended as far as the area he had penetrated (Henry, *Travels*, 2, 57, 157, 158, 162, 165, 172, 173, 178, 229). Indeed Johnson was one of the partners in Henry's mining venture, from 1768 to 1774, in the environs of Michilimackinac (See Henry, *Travels*, 212-29).

[13]William H. Nelson, *The American Tory* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), 1.

[14]Freda F. Waldon, "Alexander Henry, esq., of Montreal, Fur Trader, Adventurer, and Man of Letters", Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 1930; copied by Hamilton Public Library, 1949), 4-5. References throughout are to the Hamilton copy. Waldon suggests that Bain used the words from W. W. Henry, *Life of Patrick Henry* (New York: C. Scribner & Sons, 1891), Chapter 1, to describe Alexander Henry's family background. Her genealogical research into the Henry family indicates, however, that "beyond the coincidence of the names there seems to be little reason to connect our Alexander Henry with this distinguished family" (Waldon, 5).

with John Askin[15] seems to have shaped his early experiences in dealings with others. Allied to this, however, were other important ingredients: a sense of attachment to the British Empire; cultural and political loyalty to Britain; a belief in commercialism; and an abiding respect for the virtue of his chosen profession (being a merchant and trader). These ingredients were integral to the belief system which pushed him onward toward taking advantage of the opportunity presented by the British conquest.

An important characteristic of his life was his constant pursuit and maintenance of friendships, primarily based on patronage and loyalty. In this regard, his first experience with the newly conquered *Canadiens* did not bode well: John-Baptist (sic) Bodoine[16] was not representative, based on subsequent experiences, of other *Canadiens* with whom he would deal. Although his relations with Etienne Campion[17] seem to have been controlled by his dependence on Campion, his guide into the interior and interpreter, those with Jean Baptiste Leduc, seigneur de l'Ile-Perrot,[18] and Jean Baptiste Cadotte,[19] governor of Sault Saint Marie, seem to have been accorded greater respect because those individuals held positions of power and were themselves in control of situations from which patronage could be dispensed.

Leduc and Campion demonstrated their 'loyalty' through their friendly welcome, valued and proven advice, strategic assistance and, in the case of Campion, decisive action at important moments during Henry's first encounters with hostile

---

[15]To be discussed later.

[16]Henry, *Travels*, 4-9.

[17]Ibid, 11, 34, 39, 40, 43.

[18]Ibid, 10 (Footnote, 9).

[19]Ibid, 60, 61, 149, 153, 184, 195.

Indian bands. The overwhelming importance which Henry attached to patronage, friendship, and loyalty was, however, best expressed in his assessment of Jean Baptiste Cadotte: he was "not only my friend, but a friend of the English. It was by him that the Chipeways of Lake Superior were prevented from joining Pontiac."[20] Based on those words, it may tentatively be asserted that, for those who were not British, Henry seems to have had a hierarchy by which he judged people. Those *Canadiens* who openly displayed their loyalty to him and the British were placed in the first rank; those who did not were held in a second, almost intolerable rank. The decisive characteristics, *unwavering friendship to him and loyalty to the British cause*, were certainly not displayed in the behaviour of Charles Langlade whom Henry had not forgiven more than forty years later, at the time of writing his book.[21]

In this important historical discussion, the essential point missed by Joseph Tassé seems to have been the one requirement which, beyond all others, defined Henry's dislike of Langlade. When Henry's concept of loyalty is brought to bear on the discussion, his treatment of Langlade cannot be ascribed to a general dislike of, or prejudice against, French-Canadians. As suggested earlier, his relationships with other *Canadiens* seem to have been friendly and productive, provided both that the *Canadien* held a position from which patronage could be dispensed, and that loyalty to him and the British cause were demonstrated qualities. In

---

[20]Ibid, 149.

[21]As a result of Henry's representation of Langlade, the subsequent unhappiness among a portion of Canadiens with Henry's *Travels* and with the sordid inhumanity by an English speaker toward a French speaker was taken up, much later, by a French-Canadian historian. See Joseph Tassé, "Memoir of Charles de Langlade," *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, trans. Sarah Fairchild Dean, 7 (1873): 123-87.

forming a partnership with Cadotte, beginning in 1765[22] and lasting apparently until Cadotte's death in 1803,[23] Henry proved his ability, not only to accept *Canadiens* as equals, but, to work with them in the furtherance of enterprise. On the other hand, although Langlade was in a position to dispense patronage, his early lack of loyalty to Henry and the British cause seem to suggest that, in terms of the *Canadiens*, Henry's dual view of loyalty may have been of some importance.

Although those concepts help to explain his poor dealings with Langlade, they do not satisfactorily explain his treatment of Indians. His concept of political loyalty seems particularly applicable to his unfavourable judgement of Indians he did not know personally, such as Pontiac and those involved in his insurrection,[24] but it does not seem to explain his judgement of Indians with whom he had become quite familiar, such as Wawatam. Nor does it provide a satisfactory answer to his apparent lack of emotional or physical attachment to mixed-blood or Indian women during the long sixteen years he spent in Indian country.

Personal loyalty, rather than political, is of some importance in discussing Alexander Henry's dealings with those Indians with whom he had become familiar because it is the salient characteristic through which he ennobled and, later, judged Wawatam. Of that "crowd of Indians, within the fort [Fort Michilimackinac, in 1763], furiously cutting down and scalping every English-man they found,"[25] Wawatam was the only one who gave him 'his hand'[26] of friendship and brotherhood.[27]

---

[22]Henry, *Travels*, 184.

[23]Ibid, 153 (See Footnote 1).

[24]It seems, from his narrative, that Henry had never met Pontiac.

[25]Henry, *Travels*, 78.

[26]Ibid, 98.

Because of this, and given that Wawatam had earlier expressed his preference for an English 'brother', one would expect to find Henry extending to Wawatam as much of a friendship as he had given to the *Canadien*, Cadotte. Such is, however, not the case, and Henry's inconsistent representation of the only Indian with whom he seemed to have developed a relationship was subsequently attacked by an English-Canadian literary critic, Henry Bedford-Jones.[28]

Because Mr. Bedford-Jones did not take into consideration Henry's dual view of loyalty, and because he concentrated on trying to prove that "his relations with Wawatam, who never existed in fact, were meant to serve as an embellishment of the tale,"[29] he may have missed an historic opportunity to open an important discussion which may have served to enlighten historians on the obscure background of Henry himself. Had he concentrated on dealing with the inconsistency in Henry's relationship with Wawatam, instead of on proving the unnatural Indian characteristics which Henry gave Wawatam, he might have been able to rise above Quaife's revealing comment that "Wawatam was an Indian, let it be remembered, and his conduct is not to be judged by civilized or Anglo-Saxon standards."[30] Despite the relativistic

---

[27]Ibid, 74.

[28]Henry Bedford-Jones, *The Myth Wawatam, or, Alexander Henry Refuted. Being an Exposure of Certain Fictions Hitherto Unsuspected of the Public, with which are also found some Remarks upon the Famous Old Fort Michillimackinac (sic)*, 1917. I have not been able to locate a copy of this publication and have relied on other sources (primarily Waldon and *Michigan History Magazine*) to reconstruct the discussion.

[29]Henry Bedford-Jones, "That Myth Wawatam: A Symposium," *Michigan History Magazine*, 7 (1923): 163.

[30]Milo M. Quaife, "That Myth Wawatam: A Symposium," *Michigan History Magazine*, 7 (1923): 169. Dr. Quaife's remark is revealing of the extent to which the concept of 'difference' had become imbedded in the North American

cultural assumptions behind Quaife's comment, there seems to be no doubt that his able defence of Henry's narrative,[31] combined with the strong advocacy of the historian,[32] Francis Parkman, held the day.

The controversy raised by Mr. Bedford-Jones may have ended in his defeat,[33] but viewed from the perspectives of loyalty and patronage thus far pursued, of all the major characters in Henry's *Travels* and in his subsequent life, Wawatam is the only individual to whom Henry's code of personal and political loyalty does not seem to apply. Despite the very noble and personal role Wawatam supposedly played in saving Henry's life, the readers of his day, perhaps because they shared Henry's views, were required to suspend critical judgement. They were asked, in effect, to believe not only that Henry "could have enjoyed as much happiness in

---

culture. As late as 1923, because Wawatam was an Indian, in Dr. Quaife's opinion, his behaviour was, somehow, to be judged according to savage or non-civilized standards.

[31]For a full discussion of the intricacies of these issues, see Waldon, 69-100.

[32]Ibid, 64.

[33]The defeat may, however, not have been permanent in that the theme which Mr. Bedford-Jones introduced, with regard to Henry's work, has continued (albeit on other travel literatures of the period) and, in the works of other critics, has arrived at a highly sophisticated level. Examples include: Franz Montgomery, "Alexander Mackenzie's Literary Assistant," *Canadian Historical Review* XVIII (1937): 301-04; I.S. MacLaren, "Alexander Mackenzie and the Landscapes of Commerce," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 7 (1982): 141-50; also by the latter author, "Washington Irving's Problems with History and Romance in *Astoria*," *The Canadian Review of American Studies* 21.1 (Summer 1990): 1-13; "Samuel Hearne's Accounts of the Massacre at Blood Fall, 17 July 1771," *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature* 22.1 (Jan. 1991): 25-51; and "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," *International Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue internationale d'études canadiennes* 5 (Spring/Printemps 1992): 39-68.

this, as in any other situation"[34], but also that he could not do so because he could not divest from his mind the thought "that I was living among savages."[35] Wawatam was, in the author's view, a 'savage', but he was also of the type who demonstrated an appropriate amount of that necessary quality, 'nobility', so requisite of 'savages' in Henry's day.[36] Perhaps because, at that time, most readers shared much of the author's beliefs, they did not recognize the inconsistency, in terms of loyalty, as Henry applied it to Indians.

If it is accepted by today's reader that, in his dealings with others, reciprocal loyalty and friendship seem to have been basic qualifiers to Henry's judgement of individuals, his relationship with Wawatam, precisely because Wawatam met these requirements, stands out as being very untypical. Having been the only male *Indian* who had the opportunity of sharing a close friendship with him, Wawatam receives subsequent treatment in *Travels* that does not conform to the standards Henry set for others. His judgement and placement of Wawatam outside an otherwise understandable hierarchy for determining friendships would seem to be anomalous; the 'difference' in application seems to suggest that, because he was Indian and savage, Wawatam was judged as unimportant, placed at the lowest level in the friendship hierarchy, and subsequently dismissed by Henry in a manner which he did not accord to those who were non-Indian. It would seem that friendship based on reciprocal loyalty, from Henry toward a 'known' *male* Indian, would not have been acceptable under normal

---

[34]Henry, *Travels*, 127.

[35]Ibid.

[36]For an interesting discussion of the evolution of the noble savage theme, see D.M.R. Bentley, "Savage, Degenerate, and Dispossessed: Some Sociological, Anthropological, and Legal Backgrounds to the Depiction of Native Peoples in Early Long Poems on Canada," *Canadian Literature* 124-25 (1990): 76-90.

conditions.

That this conclusion may apply equally to *female* Indians is not being asserted here. Indeed, one of the disturbing aspects of Henry's *Travels* is the apparent ease with which he was able to arouse the protective instincts of Indian women while, somehow, avoiding any involvement with them. His relationship with Wawatam excepted, it would seem that whenever Henry found himself in difficulties in Indian country, some kind-hearted woman was always conveniently present to extricate him from dangerous, life-threatening situations. Especially given the necessity of traders arranging country marriages with Indian and/or mixed-blood females while engaged in the fur trade of the period (as explored by historians such as Foster,[37] Brown,[38] and Van Kirk[39]), it is necessary to establish whether Alexander Henry was, indeed, one of those rare traders who did not engage in a country marriage or, on the other hand, whether he did have such a marriage and, for some reason, did not find it necessary to report it in his *Travels*. In terms of establishing a sense of greater familiarity with Alexander Henry, clarification of how he viewed Indians, male and female, is of some importance.

---

[37]John E. Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement: 1820-1850," doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972.

[38]Jennifer Brown, "Company Men and Native Families: Fur Trade Social and Domestic Relations in Canada's Old Northwest," doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1976.

[39]Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Watson & Dwyer, 1980).

CHAPTER III - YEARS OF STRUGGLE

Beyond friendship and a sense of loyalty, Henry's primary attachment may have been familial. Kinship was, apparently, the source from which his commercial venture issued and upon which his future success would depend. Indeed, according to the historical consensus, his 'commercial connection' in Albany, where he 'procured a quantity of goods' to execute his first venture may have been either William Henry or Robert Henry. The latter was supposedly his uncle or cousin,[1] an elder and trustee of the First Presbyterian Church, Albany, and a merchant there. Having earlier discounted the likelihood of William Henry's being his 'connection', it is now necessary to examine whether Robert Henry may have been his patron. The only way in which this Robert Henry could fit into the Henry genealogy would be if he were accepted as the fifth child, unborn at the death of Alexander Henry, merchant of New Brunswick, New Jersey, and Elizabeth, grandparents of Alexander Henry, the Elder.

Waldon and Gough[2] agree that, at the time of the grandfather's death, there was a fifth child on the way. Having not found, in other sources, evidence to the contrary, one could suppose that Robert Henry may have been that unborn child who grew up to be the Elder's uncle. Alexander Henry could have been involved in the fur trade centred on Albany

---

[1]Freda F. Waldon, "Alexander Henry, esq., of Montreal, Fur Trader, Adventurer, and Man of Letters", Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 1930; copied by Hamilton Public Library, 1949), 9-10.

[2]Alexander Henry, (The Younger) *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger 1799-1814*, ed. Barry M. Gough, 2 vols., Publications of the Champlain Society LVI, LVII (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1988), vol. 1, xix.

with this uncle, rather than with William Henry,[3] before his venture into New France. Alternatively, the possibility exists that this Robert Henry was a cousin, a descendant of other Henry families in the area whose genealogies have not been traced. Neither Bain, Waldon, Gough nor Coues have resolved the confusion of this Robert Henry's connection to the family. Given that Waldon uncovered much information about Henry's Albany family, it is interesting that none of these family members are mentioned in connection with any of his business dealings or in any of his correspondence.

From a historical perspective, however, there is no real need to maintain that his beginnings in the fur trade were the result of dependence on a family connection. Indeed, because no meaningful business links to family members have been uncovered, the evidence seems to suggest that his 'commercial connection' may have been none other than his constant fur trader friend, John Askin, who, by 1760, was well-established "as a merchant at Albany, engaged largely in the Indian trade."[4] Indeed, although the historical record has not acknowledged a patron-client relationship between these two men, during the earliest portion of his fur trade career, Alexander Henry, the Elder was clearly a client of John Askin. Moreover, Askin seems to have been so interested in the success of his possible investment with Henry, "he visited Detroit as early as the spring of 1762."[5] The evidence also

---

[3]Alexander Henry (The Elder), *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776* (New York: printed and published by I. Riley, 1809); ed. James Bain (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1901); facs. repr. of 1901 ed. (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1966), vi. References throughout are to the facsimile reprint.

[4]*The John Askin Papers: 1747-1820*, ed. Milo M. Quaife, Burton Historical Records, 2 vols., (The Detroit Library Commission, 1928), vol. 1, 5.

[5]Ibid.

seems to suggest the likelihood that he was in the area "a full year earlier. In either event he was one of the first British traders to venture into the Northwest after the downfall of New France."[6] Contrary to the historical record, therefore, Henry and his family may not have had much of a financial stake in his first fur trade venture; he could easily have been an agent for, or partner with, John Askin in that venture.

Whichever circumstance applied, the historic "Pontiac uprising of 1763 set a temporary check upon all of [their] trading activities,"[7] in that it put him and his partners[8] in a precarious financial position. Despite the temporary loss of their initial investment, occasioned by the attack at Fort Michilimackinac, the business friendship between these two men was not affected. Rather, to recover from his financial difficulties and to ensure that he would recoup some of the losses after the uprising was put down, Askin removed to the Northwest, sometime during the uprising. Considering that he and Henry were "in part successful"[9] in recovering their property, in the years immediately following, "fortune smiled upon [Askin] and he soon entered upon a period of steadily increasing prosperity."[10]

Except for his not having been directly involved in Henry's mining venture during the period 1771-1774, Askin and Henry seem to have been constantly engaged in business activities around the area of Detroit and Michilimackinac. As commissary for the Michilimackinac garrison, Askin was also a

---

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Henry, *Travels*, 180.

[10]Askin, vol. 1, 6.

transporter, shipbuilder, trader, and early farmer[11]; thus he was favourably placed to offer Henry and other newly arrived British traders much assistance in their chancy undertakings. It is also likely that he was actively involved in building the barge which Henry used in his mining venture. Of greater significance, however, is the fact that in these early years, Askin "formed a number of friendships with men who, for a generation, were among the foremost merchants of Canada -- with James McGill, Isaac Todd, Alexander Henry, and many others who are famous in the annals of the western fur trade."[12]

These early friendships were also to play a significant role in the life of Alexander Henry; until his death, he remained committed to this original coterie of friends and, as will be shown, no inducement could turn him away from a kind of loyalty to them. A sense of loyalty pervaded all relationships -- familial, personal, business, religious, governmental -- in Henry's day. Indeed loyalty can be seen as the bedrock on which the strength of the entire British Empire rested. But loyalty, in terms of friendship, does not carry the same expectations as it does in the more involved patron-client relationship. There can be no ongoing patron-client relationship without long-term reciprocal loyalty and, as would have been applicable to most individuals of consequence, throughout his life Henry seems to have insisted on loyalty to himself and to the British government. It was his undoubted Britishness, given strength by historical developments, which gave him that sense of power and superiority over the *Canadiens*, and his favourable or unfavourable individual judgements of them were dependent on his perception of the extent to which they were loyal to *his* British cause.

---

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid.

After his return to Montreal in 1776, Henry seems to have made certain moves which would thereafter limit his fur trade involvements. He made three trips to Europe: in 1776, 1777, and 1780.[13] These trips certainly had nothing to do with John Askin, judging by Askin's lack of interest in them after Henry's return from England.[14] Perhaps Henry had travelled to England with the intention of establishing more extensive financial backing for his fur trade endeavours. If this was the case, he would have had good reason for thinking along these expansionary, imperial lines; his earlier involvement in mining had put him in touch with some rather important people: "His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, Mr. Secretary Townshend, Sir Samuel Tutchet, Baronet; Mr. Baxter, Consul of the Empress of Russia; and ... Sir William Johnson, Baronet."[15]

In the same way that loyalty gave Henry strength, it also proved, conversely, to have been the source of his greatest weakness for, although he insisted on loyalty, from others to himself, he displayed a marked lack of this quality in his dealings with others. For example, for most of the years he spent at Michilimackinac after his original disastrous venture, he did not continue in a patron-client relationship with Askin. He was not very involved in active trading and was more interested in pursuing the mining venture with Sir William Johnson and those other important persons noted above. If anything, during this period he was engaged in what can only be described as a patron-client relationship with Johnson. Johnson's death put an end to this relationship and was somehow related to the failure of the mining venture (both

---

[13]Waldon, 33; and David A. Armour, "Alexander Henry", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VI: 316-319, 317.

[14]Askin, vol. 1, 144 (Letter from John Askin to Alexander Henry, June 23, 1778).

[15]Henry, *Travels*, 229.

events occurred in 1774). Henry then promptly returned to active trading and it was during the period between 1774 and 1776 that he was most successful as a trader. As a result of this short period of success, he abandoned Askin and the *pays en haut* and took off to Montreal.

Perhaps he was fired by a strong sense of his own self importance to the industry; accordingly, he "sailed to England in the autumn of 1776 and presented to the HBC a proposal that he recruit Canadian canoeists to work for the company."[16] The fact that Henry had journeyed to England to make a proposal to the Hudson's Bay Company is of great significance. It supports the importance of loyalty to Britain but, more importantly, it hearkens back to some observations he recorded in his *Travels*:

> Four different interests were struggling for the Indian trade of the Sascatchiwaine; but, fortunately, they had this year agreed to join their stock, and when the season was over, to divide the skins and meat. This arrangement was beneficial to the merchants; but, not directly so to the Indians, who, having no other place to resort to, nearer than Hudson's Bay, or Cumberland House, paid greater prices than if a competition had subsisted. A competition, on the other hand, afflicts the Indians with a variety of evils, in a different form.[17]

From these comments, it is clear that Henry could see the advantage which a combination of interests would bring, but he also clearly recognized that the competition with the HBC, if allowed to develop, would bring evils to the Indians which they would not be able to handle. His solution to the problem

---

[16]Armour, 317.

[17]Henry, *Travels*, 320.

involved taking steps to strengthen the Hudson's Bay monopoly, by bringing to the Indians who were far removed from Hudson's Bay and Cumberland House, via Montreal, the goods they needed in trade. His proposal involved moving goods up the St. Lawrence, by canoe, the same process being adapted by the North West Company, but which could easily have been accomplished by an adventurous trader with a strong sense of loyalty to the British Hudson's Bay Company.

Unfortunately for Henry, the Hudson's Bay Company management was still 'sleeping by the Bay'; his proposal did not meet with success.

> Henry returned to British North America and in partnership with Jean-Baptiste Blondeau took a trading canoe to Michipicoten. That fall he sold his post there to Jean-Baptiste Nolin. The following year, he traded at Sault Ste Marie, working closely with Cadot. Henry travelled to England in the fall of 1778 and again in 1780.[18]

Although Waldon and Armour disagree on the year of his second trip, it is clear that Henry was tenacious in pursuing his objective of a link with the British Hudson's Bay Company. This period of trying to establish himself through British connections seems to have been costly, especially considering that this was the period when Sir William Johnson's men were taking the steps necessary to establish full control of the St. Lawrence Fur Trade, and that their actions led to the subsequent formation of the first partnership agreement of the North-West Company. According to letters addressed by Askin to the company in Montreal during this period,[19] the North West Company was, by 1778, an established fact.

Given that the North West Company was formed to pursue

---

[18]Armour, 317.

[19]Askin, vol. 1, 67-164.

the fur trade as a direct challenge to the Hudson's Bay monopoly, Henry's proposal to that company may not have been viewed favourably by the group of individuals who first formed the new company. As Marjorie Wilkins Campbell has suggested, there is evidence that, during this period, the Henrys were excluded from partnership in the new company.[20] Just as significant, in 1779 there was a change in the fortunes of John Askin, which was brought about as a result of the transfer of Colonel Arent Schuyler De Peyster, the commandant of Fort Michilimackinac, to Detroit. Askin did not get along with the new commandant, Patrick Sinclair. He was "deprived of his office of commissary, and in the summer of 1780 was even accused of acts of disloyalty."[21] With Askin's removal to Detroit, Henry's main support in the northwestern fur trade area was also removed, but despite changing fortunes, the trading ventures and the friendship shared by these two men were to continue unaffected when Askin resumed his activities in the southwestern trade out of Detroit.

Upon what evidence the *Canadian Magazine*[22] based its conclusion that Henry carried on business in the northwest, after 1781, both as merchant and fur trader, through "a number of young men as clerks," has not been determined. If Henry was carrying on business related to the fur trade during these years, the only known source from which such business could have come would have been through his independent 'old friend' and partner, Jean Baptiste Cadotte. It is conceivable, however, that Henry may have hired young men to transport M.

---

[20]Marjorie Wilkins Campbell, *The North West Company* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1957); repr., 1973; new ed. with a foreword by Hugh MacLennan (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983), 92. References throughout are to the 1983 edition.

[21]Askin, vol. 1, 7.

[22]*The Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository*, April/May, 1824. I have not been able to locate a copy of this article and have relied on others' quotations from it.

Cadotte's furs from Sault Saint Marie to Montreal, and that he may have had clerks working directly under Cadotte in the *pays en haut*. If his business dealings during this period are unclear, the record is emphatic that by 1785 he was basking in the Montreal limelight.

Shortly after his return from his last trip to Europe, Henry's life had undergone a considerable change; he was married[23] about 1781.[24] During this period he was also instrumental in helping to found "the Beaver Club, an organization to promote conviviality and to ease the re-entry of a long-absent fur trader 'into Society'."[25] His growing community and social involvements among the English-speaking, fur-trade elite brought its rewards. As the Abbé Dugas, no friend of Henry's, would later declare: "His success in the fur trade became the subject of general comment."[26] In 1785, he was also acknowledged as "one of the leading merchants of Montreal who presented a farewell address to the late Acting-Governor, Hon. Henry Hamilton."[27]

Henry was not only a business socialite. He was obviously very involved in church activities and in helping to establish the many Loyalist refugees who were then flooding into Quebec. Among those refugees was the Reverend John Bethune who had arrived in Montreal, sometime before 1782 via Goldsboro, North Carolina and Halifax, after painful

---

[23]Ibid.

[24]Armour, 318. Unlike Waldon, Armour suggests that Henry and Julia Kittson were married on June 11, 1785. This investigation has not been able to establish Armour's source of information. The date's exactness, however, suggests that there is some evidence upon which it was based.

[25]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, xxii.

[26]G. Dugas, *The Canadian West ...* (Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1905), 114.

[27]Henry, *Travels*, xxv.

experiences during the American Revolutionary War.[28] Henry and John Bethune seem to have struck up a very meaningful friendship. When Bethune was struggling to form the first congregation of the Established Church of Scotland, Henry was a strong supporter, and when the decision was taken to build St. Gabriel's Church, Henry was one of the more generous fur trade contributors to the cause. In Montreal in 1782, John Bethune also met and married Veronique Waddin,[29] the daughter of Jean Etiènne Waddin and Marie Josephe De Guire.[30] Their children would later play significant roles in the family history of Alexander Henry, the Elder.

Between 1787 and 1791, his active participation in the northwestern trade, as compared to his social and community activities in Montreal, became more pronounced. His role was not, however, that of a trader; he became involved, by appointment from Lord Dorchester in 1788 at Michilimackinac, in attempts to settle 'political' issues, involving "Mr. Dease,[31] the superintendent of Indian affairs, and Mr. Ainse, the interpreter."[32] By 1790, after several trips between

---

[28]Mary Larratt Smith, *Prologue to Norman: The Canadian Bethunes* (Ottawa: Mosaic, 1976), 18.

[29]The historical consensus is that Veronique was the daughter of a Professor Wadden of the University of Geneva and that she married the Rev. Bethune in New York. Like so much on the Bethune family, this consensus has been proven to be decisively incorrect, based on the research undertaken by Ms. Smith who is herself of the Bethune family.

[30]Smith, 24-5.

[31]He was, according to Devine, another important Johnson connection -- his nephew. See Footnote 46 of Heather Devine, "Roots in the Mohawk Valley: Sir William Johnson's Legacy in the Northwest Company," *The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference, Mackinac Island, Michigan, 1991* ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown, W.J. Eccles, and Donald P. Heldman (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1994): 217-42.

[32]Henry *Travels*, xxv.

Montreal and Michilimackinac, Henry began to show signs of displeasure with political affairs, and publicly voiced his frustration that traders "should be trading and not holding enquiries."[33] Perhaps as a result of the conviction that the traders "had pressing business elsewhere,"[34] and because of his new awareness of the successes being enjoyed by those operating under the banner of the North-West Company, Henry had come to the conclusion that he should re-enter the northwestern trade. In May 1791, accordingly, he published an announcement in *The Gazette*: "The subscriber being about to quit the Province for some months, requests those who may have contract or other engagements with him, to address themselves to Messrs. McTavish, Frobisher and Company, with whom he leaves the management of his affairs during his absence."[35]

During the 1780s, having found himself at odds with the North West Company, Henry had pursued friendships and had become involved in business with those in the southwestern Lake Michigan and the Mississippi trade: Isaac Todd, Richard Cartwright, and John Askin.[36] Later, after the murder of Jean Etiènne Waddin, seemingly because Waddin had broken away from the original partnership and was in direct competition with the North West Company,[37] John and James McGill seem to have separated themselves from the North West Company partnership, joining Henry, Askin and Cartwright in concentrating on the southwestern trade. In this connection, a question seems to

---

[33]Ibid, xxvi.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Bruce Wilson, "The Struggle for Wealth and Power at Fort Niagara 1775-1783" *Interpreting Canada's Past*, vol. 1 Before Confederation, ed. J.M. Bumsted (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986): 125-38.

[37]Campbell, 28.

suggest itself. Did the McGills decide to pursue the southwestern trade as a result of a gentleman's agreement with the North West Company partners[38] or was there, instead, a major disagreement between the partners on the handling of Peter Pond and the murder of Jean Etiènne Waddin? If this was the case, Henry's concern for the violence inherent in the North West Company brand of competition, such as he had observed in 1776, and his desire then to form an attachment with the Hudson's Bay Company take on much significance. Perhaps these sentiments lay at the heart of the McGills' silent departure from the North West Company and their life-long attachment to Henry and Askin.

Although he continued to do business in the southwest during the early 1790's, there is evidence of a change in Henry's business strategy. His advertisement in *The Gazette*, and his sudden decision to leave his business in the hands of the group which controlled the North West Company, McTavish, Frobisher and Company, suggest that, after his exposure to the new situation in the northwest, Henry may have reevaluated his position and may have decided to take steps which would prove his interest in throwing in his weight with that company. At the beginning of this decade, however, Henry was no longer the young man who had made Michilimackinac his earlier stomping ground. Age did not deter him, however, for on returning to Montreal after his advertised trip to Michilimackinac, he "became a clerk in the North West Company on 14 September 1792, the very day his nephew, Alexander Henry the Younger, also appeared on the list of shareholders."[39] This move on the part of Henry, the Elder, may be cited as an example of how patronage, the basis of entry, involvement, and

---

[38]Ibid, 31.

[39]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, xxii.

advancement[40] in that company, ensured its continued success and its ability to find a plethora of investors and of able, ambitious young men who were prepared to serve the company willingly and effectively.

On the other hand, the assertion can also be made that Henry's overture to the North West Company may also have been part of a larger strategy. During this period John Jacob Astor began pursuing the trade in a novel direction -- to China. It is significant, therefore, that Henry was the one who "introduced Astor into the Canadian trade and Astor was Henry's guest during his annual visits to Montreal. Further, in the 1790s Henry and Astor assisted the North West Company in organizing shipments of furs to China."[41] Astor may have been the Elder Henry's means of breaking the embargo which the North West Company had placed on him while, at the same time, allowing Henry to participate in a new area of fur trade activity. As Ronda suggests,

> the plan may have been the brainchild of Alexander Henry, an associate of Pond's and sometime business partner with Astor. By December 1792 Henry reported to Canton merchants Hamilton and Reid that two American ships in the covert employ of the North West Company were set to leave New York in early spring 1794.[42]

Despite this fortunate reopening of opportunity in the northwestern trade, it is clear that Henry had no intention of

---

[40]Jennifer Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 44.

[41]Armour, 318.

[42]James P. Ronda, *Astoria & Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 16-17. For more information on Astor and his successes, see also Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor: Business Man*, ed. N.S.B. Gras, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931).

becoming a North West Company man. Shortly after 1792 his nephew, Alexander Henry, the Younger, decided to learn his trade under Charles Chaboillez,[43] but the Elder was surprised when the Younger then joined the company: "I did not mean that my Nephew should have settled at Sagana or the Indian Country but at Detroit. (sic)he is going to the NorthWest with the old Company."[44] This comment seems to suggest that the Younger had journeyed westward with the intention of joining the Hudson's Bay Company, a decision with which the Elder seems to have been in complete agreement. Subsequently, however, the Younger seems to have gone against his uncle's wish and decided to join the North West Company of his own volition and with his own plan of action in mind.

The financial, or 'partnership', arrangements between the Younger and Elder Henry are unknown. If there were any, it may have been that the Elder had advanced the funds necessary for the Younger to purchase shares in the North West Company but the Younger did not consider that to be a means of dictating which company he should work for. Whatever the arrangement, in time, the Elder Henry seems to have accepted the youger's desire for independence and, as a clerk who was "always cocky in disposition",[45] the Younger Henry began his drive toward establishing an independent and much revered name in the North West Company's[46] annals. Significantly, he accomplished this by assuming command, in a short period of time, over a portion of the territory to which his uncle formerly held exclusive trading rights.

---

[43]*Documents Relating to the North West Company*, ed. W. Stewart Wallace, Publications of The Champlain Society XXII (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), 432.

[44]Askin, vol. 2, 180.

[45]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, xxviii.

[46]Ibid.

Historians have interpreted the Younger's use of "my friend" in his journal as referring to Alexander Henry, the Elder and they have insisted on claiming, through the Younger's use of that term, that the Elder Henry was the Younger's 'patron'. It seems odd, however, that the younger Henry, who had a penchant for recording facts of all kinds, would not specify that his uncle was actually his 'patron'. Instead, he uses the specific term 'friend', in his journal and in his Will. Contrary to the historical record, it may be that the younger Henry simply had a strong sense of honour for his family 'friendship' with the Elder but that did not necessarily mean that he had acknowledged the Elder as his patron.

Whatever may have been the circumstances of their business relationship, continuing success was not to be the elder Henry's; by 1795, there were discomforting signs in his business affairs. In a letter to John Askin, Henry bewailed the loss of "a fortune of at least one Million of Dollars"[47]; an over-statement surely, especially considering that he, Askin, and their partners "had invested very little money in this hare-brained scheme to buy land which the Indians had no right to sell,"[48] but one which suggests that Henry may have been a somewhat unscrupulous businessman, likely subject to hyperbole, and, at that time, perhaps sufficiently desperate to have been grasping at straws. During this period, perhaps as a means of ensuring the continuing operations of the elder Henry, he and his nephew sold some of their combined shares in the North West Company to William Hallowell.[49] This sale of shares may not have been as unfortunate as its report suggests; William Hallowell was very much connected to the

---

[47]Askin, vol. 2, 578-80.

[48]Waldon, 37.

[49]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, xxii.

Henry family for, three years later on February 8, 1798, he married Martha Henry, a relative of Henry, the Elder, in Albany, New York.[50]

With his continuing advancement in the North West Company management structure, the younger Henry may have begun to develop, by 1799, an increasing sense of independence from the Elder. Moreover, by this date, the younger Henry was the father of three children[51] in Indian country, having additional financial pressures of his own. His having to sell his shares to Hallowell may be an indication that his uncle may have been exerting pressure on him for financial assistance. Because of the uncle's financial predicament, requests or demands for financial assistance, based on family loyalty, could have been made. Such requests would have had the effect of siphoning off or reducing some of the Younger's earnings. In time, these requests could have been seen by the Younger as a hindrance to his independent financial growth. He could, under such circumstances, have begun to develop an antipathy toward his uncle.

It would seem, based on the above sequence of hypotheses, that there may have been a divergence of views, with regard to patronage, between the younger and elder Henry. The elder Henry seems to have considered himself as the younger Henry's patron whereas the latter seems to have resisted any attempt at acknowledging a patronage connection to the Elder. Instead, the younger Henry seems to have chosen to link himself into the patronage system operating in the North West Company and, through his growing influence in that Company, he began to create his own patronage network. The combination of circumstances involved in the rapid rise of Alexander Henry, the Younger, his desire for greater independence, and his

---

[50]*Documents*, 454.

[51]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, xx.

possible silent rejection of a patronage arrangement with his uncle, may have had considerable impact on the already shaky confidence of the Elder.

Adding to the Elder's difficulties, in 1796 his old friend Jean-Baptiste Cadotte "handed over his business to his sons,"[52] ending Henry's last contact with an independent operator in the northwestern frontier. Perhaps in an attempt to establish some sort of contact with Cadotte's sons, in 1797, George Kittson, Henry's wife's only child by her former husband, John George Kittson, made an appearance at Sault Saint Marie. This second attempt at establishing a patronage footing in the northwest was unsuccessful[53] in that Cadotte's sons, Jean Baptiste and Michel, both entered the service of the North West Company at that time.[54] As a result, the precipitous slide in Henry's business affairs seems to have continued.

For a fleeting moment in January 1800, signs of improvement in Henry's affairs are evident. From his report to Askin it would appear that his dealings with Astor were beginning to bear fruit:

> by the last accounts from England there is very bad appearance of furrs (sic), selling well. (sic)they say most of the furr (sic) buyers are bankrupts owing to several Houses in Hamburg failing, which has bankrupt all the foreign Houses in London, and several in New York. Seaton Maitland & Co is shut. I suspect it will fall heavey (sic) on them. (sic) muskratts (sic) is the only article which may keep at 24 -- good -- and this is owing to Astore (sic) and me being in opposition. (sic) if you can sell

---

[52]*Documents*, 428.

[53]Waldon, 49.

[54]*Documents*, 428-29.

> yours for that I think you ought as you may have buyers there, for should Astore (sic) & me agree they will fall -- unless they should sell high in London.[55]

This confident mood did not last for a very long time. By May 26, 1800, after returning from a trip to the United States he reported, despondently: "I brought no news from the States. (sic) no sales of furrs (sic) come as yet to Hand, but we have reason to hope from the Hudson Bay sales that Beaver, Bear & deer & Otters will sell as well as last year."[56] Without access to more detailed information on the affairs of Alexander Henry, the Elder, it is impossible to declare unequivocally that his financial affairs, during this period, were precarious, but one can hardly escape making the suggestion that those affairs did not reflect the condition of someone who, in the words of Norman William Bethune, "had become a wealthy man."[57]

Meanwhile, the record clearly indicates that the rising star, Alexander Henry, the Younger, "entered into the inner circle as a partner on 30 June 1801. This was done by unanimous vote of the partners meeting at Grand Portage."[58] The Younger's promotion was proof that his patronage connections could be far more fruitful for those in the Henry family who sought careers in the fur trade. But as a partner, his primary commitment was now clear; it was to a proven and tested company, not to a relatively unsuccessful uncle who, because of an outmoded sense of British loyalty and an incongruous sense of self-importance, lacked the capacity to commit to the one course which circumstances dictated.

---

[55]Askin, vol. 2, 275.

[56]Ibid, 297.

[57]Waldon, 73.

[58]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, xxviii.

In silent acknowledgement of his shaky financial condition and, perhaps, having begun to recognize that the future was in the hands of North West Company men like his nephew, the Elder, it would seem, began to reconsider his position. When consideration is given to the mood the elder Henry was in during 1801, this suggestion may not seem preposterous. In a letter to Askin, dated April 10, 1801, he perhaps expressed the depth of his frustration most strongly:

> my dear Askin my mind is not at ease. I have this seven years been doing but little business, and what I did ended bad. (sic) lost by every thing that I toutched (sic), and to mend the matter, a great part of the furs I shiped (sic) last fall was by the last ship saild (sic) so late that no insurance could be made and she is taken. I am continuing to eat up the little remaining, and unless I die soon there will be nothing left. I think I have lived long enough. (sic) at a time of life when we should be enjoying the labours of our youth, we are vexed with disappointments and obliged to deprive ourselves of these compforts (sic) which we have been accustomed to is a misfortune.[59]

Given that the Elder may already have been forced to acknowledge the younger Henry's more fruitful patronage connections, and considering that the family link between the Elder and the Younger may still have been extremely meaningful, opportunity was opened up to the Elder's other family members with the Younger's appointment. Given that the Elder was no longer in a position to dispense much patronage,

---

[59]Askin, vol. 2, 330-31.

in 1801, William, supposedly[60] his eldest son and eighteen years old at the time, entered the service of the North West Company, "part of his time being spent with his cousin, Alexander Henry,"[61] the Younger, more than likely as a means of being given guidance and training under a seasoned and experienced hand. The Elder's second son, Alexander, also entered the services of the North West Company shortly thereafter.[62] Although the Younger Henry made no mention, in his *Journal* of Alexander having served under him, there is no reason to suppose that he was not part of his company.

By April 18, 1802, there was a definite change from the depressed mood into which the elder Henry had fallen during 1801. In a much lighter mood, he wrote to Askin: "what do you think I have turn'd Commission Mercht Broker & Auctioneer and have a great deal of business. I wish I had done it seven years past it would have been better for us both."[63] Because he had found an alternative means of gaining his livelihood, the downward spiral in the Elder's fortunes may not have been much aggravated by the death, in 1803, of his 'old friend', Jean Baptiste Cadotte but, despite his new means of earning a livelihood, Henry could not stay out of the fur trade business. In the same letter to Askin, he wrote: "good Deer Skins sold well in last sale (sic) it is supposed all other

---

[60]Until recently, the historical record has revealed that Henry had only two sons. In Henry's own words, to be discussed later, it is evident that he had four sons. Whether William was, in fact, the eldest is therefore being questioned here.

[61]Henry, *Travels*, xxviii, and Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, xxiii.

[62]The year of his entry is not given in any of the sources.

[63]Askin, vol. 2, 374.

furs will sell well this year."[64]

His concerns for his sons had also abated. He reported simply that his "sons are all abroad."[65] Indeed during the following decade, William and Alexander became relatively productive in the western fur trade; William, for example, "was stationed from 1801 to 1809 at different posts in what is now the province of Manitoba."[66] His competence and increasing value to his employer were reflected in the fact that in "1810 he was in charge of the North West Company's post at Cumberland House, and in the following year he was on the Athabasca River, where he established a new post which was marked on the maps as Henry's House."[67] If the younger son, Alexander, did "not appear to distinguish himself,"[68] William seems to have made up for his shortcomings.

Apart from his sons, one other connection of Alexander Henry, the Elder, entered the business life of the Younger Henry during this period. Angus Bethune, eldest son of the Rev. John Bethune, seems to have travelled westward at the same time as the Elder's sons. Like William, he too seems to have begun to distinguish himself; he is listed as one of those working *en derouine*, under the Younger Henry's Red River Department in 1804-5.[69] In a short period of time, through linking up with the patronage connections offered by the younger Henry, there had been a considerable improvement in the Elder Henry's influence in the northwest. Although there

---

[64]Ibid, 374-75.

[65]Ibid, 375. Based on the date of this letter, it is also clear that his son, Alexander, had entered the fur trade in the northwest prior to 1802.

[66]Henry, *Travels*, vol. 1, xxviii.

[67]Ibid, xxix.

[68]Ibid, xxx.

[69]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, 171-72.

is no evidence suggesting that the placement of this new group of individuals there had brought him any gains, it is possible that there could have been indirect business benefits accruing to him. Certainly, in 1807, he had the means of being able to trade privately in furs. He reported to Askin: "I like many more fools speculated in Bears, but fortunately not many."[70]

From the above pieces of evidence, it is possible to suggest that, by 1810, the Elder had re-established some confidence in his business activities and had rebuilt sufficient influence in the northwestern frontier that his fortunes could have begun to show a considerable recovery. That recovery seems, however, not to have taken place. In 1810, in a letter to Askin, he wrote: "I wish when it was in my power to have retired from active live (sic) to have done as you did. (sic) when we are young we do not feel the effects of misfortune, so much as when we grow old."[71] Possibly Henry was unknowingly experiencing the general decline in the fur trade which had begun to set in during the first decade of the nineteenth century, for he then proceeded to display strong signs of antipathy toward the success of some of his acquaintances:

> when I look around I find many worse than myself which is a consolation. our old friend Todd is in New York and has been there all winter, which has been a loss to our Society. especially to me. he being the only old friend, except Mr. Frobisher, who has not changed their dispositions, some from geting (sic) rich other from having obtain'd places, & has raised them in their own imagination above their old acquaintance, and I am sorry to say

---

[70]Askin, vol. 2, 543.

[71]Ibid, 653.

your friend McGill is one of that number.[72]

Regret, disappointment, and envy are all clearly evident in these words but, more important, they also offer clear indication that Henry had realized his days as a giant in the fur trade were over; the baton had passed to another generation of traders and Henry found himself decidedly out of place in the new world unfolding before him.

An important aspect of his words is the light they offer on the relationship between Henry and James McGill; it had changed to the extent that Henry no longer counted McGill among his friends. The reason for this is clear; Henry judged that he was no longer able to compete successfully with the patronage systems being operated by the Frobishers and McGills. Additionally, his connection with Astor seems to have waned, having not borne the type of fruits he had earlier anticipated:

> the population of this City within this two years exceeds all imagination. the whole trade of the Country is carried on by Americans and their agents, and I expect the Indian Trade will fall into their Hands, as Mr. Astore (sic) has offered to purchese (sic) out the Makenau(sic) Co. he has a Charter from Congress to an excluseve (sic) right to the Indian Trade, and I understand he is to be conected (sic) with the N W Company to make settlemnts (sic) on the North West coast of America, to communicate with the inland N W Trade. Mr. McGillavray (sic) is now in New York & M. Richardson on that business.[73]

It is clear that Americans had begun to invade the Montreal business environment and that Henry found himself at

---

[72]Ibid.

[73]Ibid, 653-54.

odds with such a prospect. The admission which Henry seems clearly not inclined to make, at this juncture, is that he, moreso than any of his coterie, was responsible for their presence, having brought the pre-eminent of all the Americans, Astor, into the Canadian trade. That Astor seemed determined to establish control in all areas of the fur trade seems, also, to have been of considerable concern to Henry.

A year later, continuing on the same theme, Henry wrote Askin:

> McGill is very well. There is a great change here within two years. I begin to think that I have been dead, and come to life again, as I find myself in a strange country. hundreds who I do not know or ever heard of, I meet in churches, and other places, both male and female. on inqury (sic), they are all Merchants settled here, who keep large stores, mostly Americans. The increase has doubled the number of the inhabitants of this place in the above time. There is but little french spoke here at present even the suburbs are more than half American and I am grown so old that it is a difficult matter with me to make new acquaintance as my old ones are all Dead.[74]

It comes as somewhat of a relief to discover that the two old friends had found the means of reconciling their differences. But the reconciliation seems to have been largely as a result of Henry having become almost anti-American. This is confirmed later, in the same letter: "News we have none, only expect [war] with America, which must [come?] sometime or other (sic) you have the A[merican?] papers as soon as we, therefore you know all that is new."[75]

---

[74]Ibid, 674.

[75]Ibid.

The letter also indicates that Montreal was undergoing massive changes as a result of the influx of American merchants. One of the changes which Henry seems to have detested was the matter of the small amount of French being spoken in Montreal. This observation is significant in terms of the different attitudes toward language that Henry's generation of traders held, compared to the attitudes which a later influx of Americans were displaying toward that language. It is also clear that Henry did not approve of these new attitudes and that he was, at this late stage in life, wishing for a return to the good old days when French and English speakers had been able to live, marry, and work together in relative harmony. Henry himself was not unaffected by this change in the use of the French language. On October 4, 1803, Askin chided him: "You begin to loose your french. (sic) formerly *Soi a Bardeau* was a particular kind of Plow Shear and not a Saw for Shingles as you would make it."[76]

The thought of waging war on the Americans seemed to have inspired a new mood in Henry and his crowd: "you say you are 71 years. next August I will be 72. Todd says he is only 68. Todd was once much older than me but he has grown much younger at present."[77] These observations aside, it is also clear that Henry's financial situation did not undergo any significant improvement during the period. On September 6, 1811, he wrote to his trusted friend: "For my part I find it difficult to make both ends meet."[78] As a result of another letter written on October 8, 1812,[79] it becomes clear that the war in the vicinity of Detroit was the primary cause of his financial distress, probably as it was for everyone in the

---

[76]Ibid, 396.

[77]Ibid, 675.

[78]*Michigan History Magazine*, 32 (1903), 474-75.

[79]Ibid.

Canadas. Despite his discouraging financial situation, he reported:

> our old Friend Todd is here and intends staying for the Winter. we are all soldiers here. I expect preferment [before] the Battle being the oldest Captn in the British Militia. (sic) the Americans on the opposite side of the river are continuely (sic) attacking our Boats going up to Kingston. I think it is their intention (if they can) to stop the communication, which they will find a difficult matter to perform. (sic) we have near ten thou[sa]nd men in arms here, and can with ease raise Twenty thousand more, in ten days in case they come over our lines, but we do not intend attacking them on their side.[80]

During 1812, however, Henry seems to have succumbed completely to preferment; he obtained a 'place' as King's Auctioneer for the District of Montreal.[81] This fortunate appointment was to stand him in good stead for the rest of his life but, despite the change in his fortune, his business circumstances showed no signs of improvement. On August 27, 1813,[82] he confided to Askin that "times are getting very bad, Trade allmost (sic) at an end". After August 1813, there seems to be no record of Henry's having complained about his financial situation, which suggests that something could have happened to improve his mood and circumstances radically.

Throughout the war, like Askin, Henry remained loyal to the British cause. He was confident "that the Americans will be repulsed."[83] These words, along with his constant

---

[80]Askin, vol. 2, 734.

[81]*Travels*, xxvi; and Waldon, 30.

[82]*MHM*, 32, 474-75.

[83]Waldon, 42.

commitment to a preferable Hudson's Bay Company connection, provide us with clear evidence as to which side, in this battle of political allegiances, he had always been committed. As a result of having been not accepted by the Hudson's Bay Company, and having a lifelong dislike of something or someone in the North West Company operation, Henry had pursued the fur trade from whatever avenues he could find open to him. His connection with Astor may be seen, then, as merely an attempt to survive as an independent operator interested only in making a living for himself, and may not be interpreted as his having a preference for dealing with Americans or of holding a view which would have had the fur trade dominated by American interests.

Indeed, the Americans were repulsed not only in the area of Detroit; their fur trade empire on the Pacific Coast was effectively terminated when the North West Company purchased Astoria "and all its furs and supplies ... at less than one-third of their value."[84] In the words of Gabriel Franchère,

> Negotiations dragged on until the 23rd of October, [1813] when the Nor'Westers took possession of Astoria. They agreed to pay the sums due to the servants of the former Pacific Fur Company (the name chosen for this company by Mr Astor), their wages being deducted from the price of the inventory of goods that they had received from us, to feed its servants and furnish a free passage to those who wished to return to Canada.[85]

As we have seen, as late as 1800, Alexander Henry had been

---

[84]Frederick V. Holman, *Dr. John McLoughlin: the Father of Oregon* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark, 1907), 20.

[85]Gabriel Franchère, *Journal of a Voyage on the North West Coast of North America during the Years 1811, 1812, 1813 and 1814*, ed. W. Kaye Lamb, trans. Wessie Tipping Lamb, Publications of The Champlain Society XLV (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1969), 129-30.

very much involved in purchasing furs for and with Astor. As an individual trader, he was committed to making money in whatever way he could in the trade. Despite the war with the United States, there is no reason to believe that he did not continue participating in Astor's growing endeavours during the war years. It can be presumed, therefore, that part of the heavy losses suffered by Astor's Pacific Fur Company, in 1813, may also have been partially Henry's loss and, because of that loss, the relationship between the younger and elder Henry may have reached its nadir in the events surrounding Astoria.

Especially when consideration is given to the four interlocking suggestions which inform this analysis, the suspicion arises that, by 1814, the elder Henry had lost all patience with the Younger. The suggestions are as follows: Alexander Henry, the Younger, had stymied his uncle's establishment of a patronage system; he had ignored the Elder's wish that he not join the North West Company; he had been deeply involved in the takeover of Astoria and, through that takeover, he may have inflicted considerable damage on the Elder. If these suggestions are valid, as has been seen with regard to the Elder's treatment of Langlade under different circumstances, such 'disloyalty' to him, the ousted family patriarch, especially from a member of his immediate family, would have been judged, by him, as intolerable, unforgivable and deserving of punishment.

Shortly thereafter, on May 22, 1814, the Younger Henry was to die by drowning. Whether Henry and Askin had communicated about the Younger's death is not known but, on May 9, 1815, after mentioning the death of McGill, who had died on December 12, 1813,[86] Henry wrote:

My dear friend are we never to meet in this World.
I think it would do you much good to come down.

---

[86]*Documents*, 468.

> Could I be spared from my business I would go on purpose to say we Meet once more. Old Age should not prevent me having that pleasure, but necessity at my time of life obliges me to be attentive in procuring Necessarys (sic).[87]

From this letter it may be surmised that, almost a year after the Younger's death, the elder Henry was unaware of the tragic event, but this surmise would not be correct, for on September 30, 1814, "the Company paid to Alexander Henry the Elder for the deceased estate, the full balance of wages due to the late Alexander Henry."[88] The amount in question was £302-10-4, a significant amount of money for that time. According to the letter, however, Henry's financial position was not significantly improved; the need to procure his necessaries dictated that he could not leave his business. This last letter was never read by John Askin who had died in April 1815, a month before Henry wrote it. With Askin's death, our direct link to this aspect of Alexander Henry's ongoing life story is severed and we must turn to other sources to continue our reconstruction.

Among others, according to Henry the Younger's will,[89] the Elder Henry and George Kittson were designated as executors. Their only benefit was specified as "Twenty Pounds Halifax Currency to purchase a Ring in remembrance of their deceased friend."[90] It seems strange that the younger Henry would reward his patron, the Elder, with such an ironic symbol unless, through that ring, the younger Henry wished to communicate to his friends the clear message that, to the end, he and not the elder Henry was the true family star, the only

---

[87]Askin, vol. 2, 782.

[88]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, lxv.

[89]Ibid, lxviii-lxx.

[90]Ibid, lxx.

one deserving to be considered a patriarch in the Henry clan. Whatever his intentions, the immediate Henry household was not excluded from benefit and the younger Henry may have provided the means whereby the elder Henry and his family could live for many years without financial worry. Julia Henry, the Elder's wife, and Julia Henry, the Elder's daughter, were each to receive "Five hundred Pounds Halifax Currency."[91] With this picture of the financial situation of Henry and his household, the record of his business dealings, in and out of the fur trade, comes to a close.

In summation, the most that can be said about Alexander Henry, the Elder, is that throughout his years as a businessman he enjoyed a mediocre success compared to that attained by other celebrated fur traders of his day. That he did not accomplish more seems to have been the direct result of his absorbing need to be an independent operator, in charge of his own operation, and commanding his own patronage system. In an age which called for the curtailing of such business independence, when the necessity for combining forces with others was fashionable, by refusing to give up his independence, Henry became an anachronism. His inclination toward being a kind of 'freeman', whose ambitions did not allow him to take second place to any individual or Company, seems not to have endeared him to the most influential of his contemporaries. It is, perhaps, this quality in him which suggests that a separation might have occurred between him and the younger Henry. To the latter, freemen of any kind were an abomination, "a nuisence (sic) in the Country and generally a parcel of scoundrels. I never yet found one honest man amongst them."[92]

Although the younger Henry used these words to describe

---

[91]Ibid, lxix.

[92]Ibid, 151.

different circumstances, they can be made to apply to the elder Henry. After his rebuff by the Hudson's Bay Company, his letters to Askin are laden with an obsequious quality. They display all the tendencies of an individual who recognizes that he had failed his patron by having been disloyal, by going off on his own, by breaking the rules under which the game of patronage was supposed to have been played. Certainly in his responses, Askin never reciprocated Henry's gushing, fawning expressions of friendship. In the 1790s, when Henry suddenly became involved with another possible patron, Astor, there is a different note in his letters to Askin; the obsequiousness disappears and is replaced by haughtiness. After 1801, however, when his ventures with Astor seem to have decreased, the fawning tendencies resume and, once again, the sense of an individual seeking to regain his old place in the affections of his patron become evident. Alexander Henry, the Elder, had been given three enviable opportunities to work and to grow in patron-client relationships which could have assured him of a much greater level of financial success. Unfortunately, on each occasion he abused the opportunities which had been given him because of his insistence on independence, which can only be explained in light of his having had too high an opinion of himself.

If those who wielded power in the North West Company had perceived the elder Henry in such a light, his continuing presence in the fur trade and his not so quiet opposition to the designs and ways of the North West Company were guarantees that a confrontation of some kind, between forces allied to Henry and forces opposed to him, would one day occur. It is because of this that Henry's third attempt at creating a patronage system, by placing more dependable individuals in the northwestern fur trade, needs to be further examined. Since most of his placements were family members, relatives and close friends, our immediate search will be limited to them.

In light of the evidence uncovered so far, it seems clear that, as a witness offering evidence on the business aspects of the fur trade, Henry excluded from his *Travels* much information which could have made his work valuable to historians. Had he included even a tiny amount of the considerable volume of information which he possessed on individuals and their machinations, perhaps his work would be of much greater importance. As it stands, the work can be considered a highly romantic 'adventure' and cannot be considered worthy of serious consideration by historians attempting to reconstruct the business experiences of Henry or of the fur traders he knew so well.

CHAPTER IV - 'THE VEIL'

After his marriage in 1781, in Bain's rather quaint language, he had settled down to enjoy his financial competency "in the bosom of his family and amidst a circle of highly respectable friends."[1] In looking deeper into his financial competency, we have uncovered reasons to believe that, for most of his years in Montreal, Henry's financial situation was not as comfortable as the historical record would have us believe. Now we must examine the bosom of his family, to see whether there is, in this area of his life, sufficient evidence to support the high esteem accorded him historically. This area of the investigation is undertaken in the spirit so well articulated by Ian MacLaren:

> a sharp focus must be directed onto the writer. That focus must investigate such customary reading practices as those that equate the explorer/traveller with the author, and published observations with exact representations of reality as it was experienced... [It] involves recognizing the cultural role played for imperial cultures by wilderness travellers, few of whom, at least before this century in Canada, were writers first and foremost.[2]

Since Henry's *Travels* provide us with no information on

---

[1]Alexander Henry (The Elder), *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776* (New York: printed and published by I. Riley, 1809); ed. James Bain (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1901); facs. repr. of 1901 ed. (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1966), xxiii. References throughout are to the facsimile reprint.

[2]I.S. MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," *International Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue internationale d'études canadiennes* 5 (Spring/Printemps 1992): 39-68, 40.

this score, we must uncover whatever information is available from other sources. We shall begin by considering his wife, Julia Kittson, who would have been, given the family norms of the day, the 'rock' who would have anchored Henry firmly to respectable ground. Toward this end, Waldon's thesis is of considerable importance in that it seems to have been the only work which has attempted to discover an identity for Julia Kittson. Based on information provided by Norman William Bethune, we learn from Waldon that,

> our great-grandfather Kittson was born in Dublin, where I have been told the name may still be met with. He was in the army, but in what rank or branch of the service I am unable to say. He must have seen several campaigns in America as his wife is said to have crossed the Atlantic several times endeavoring to rejoin her husband but passing him each time in mid-ocean. Finally he sailed with Wolfe's expedition against Louisbourg and Quebec and must have fallen in battle or died from disease or hardship during that campaign, for on our Great-grandmother's arrival at Quebec on board the relieving squadron in the spring of 1760 she found herself a widow. As far as I can gather she was born in the town of Newton-Limavody, Ireland. I am inclined to think her maiden name was Sawer or Sawyer. In her various trips across the ocean she had always taken with her certain "ventures" in goods, either way, a common practice in those days and had acquired quite a little money. She, therefore, decided to remain in Canada, where she subsequently married Alexander Henry, the noted fur-trader and traveller in the Northwest. By her first husband she had one son, our grandfather George Kittson. By her marriage with Mr. Henry she had two sons, Alexander and William and a daughter

Julia.[3]

It would seem from this information, that when Julia Kittson first arrived in Quebec, she was no 'spring chicken'. Nor could she have been a 'wall-flower'. Although we know little about her, she must have been a woman of considerable resources and strength. After her first husband's death, alone she undertook the considerable task of raising a young son in a society where there was little opportunity for women to provide independently for themselves. That she was successful in this undertaking could be attested by her having raised a son who was considered sufficiently eligible to marry "Anne Tucker of Sorel, daughter of a U.E. Loyalist who had been granted lands in the vicinity of that village."[4]

Waldon's genealogical enquiry on Julia Kittson uncovered no more evidence than is provided in the Bethune memorandum, but her research did reveal the existence of two conflicting stories, both emanating from the Bethunes: the first holds that "Mrs. Kittson was Alexander Henry's second wife and not the mother of his children"[5]; the other, that "Mrs. John George Kittson was the only wife of Alexander Henry and the mother of his children."[6] After many interviews and after having examined the evidence presented by the Bethune 'clan', the sum total of which, in terms of written documentation, was the single memorandum purportedly written by Norman William Bethune, third son of the Norman Bethune who had lived with Henry, Waldon had to conclude that the evidence supporting

---

[3]Freda F. Waldon, "Alexander Henry, esq., of Montreal, Fur Trader, Adventurer, and Man of Letters," Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 1930; copied by Hamilton Public Library, 1949, 45-6.

[4]Ibid, 46. Quoted from a memorandum from Norman William Bethune.

[5]Waldon, 45.

[6]Ibid, 46.

Julia Kittson having mothered all of the Henry children "seems conclusive. The Bethunes are emphatic on this point."[7] It is noteworthy that Waldon did not write *is*, but *seems*, conclusive, and that, through strategic placement of the words "The Bethunes are emphatic on this point," she emphasized, perhaps intentionally, the doubt which still existed in her own mind, long after her investigation was completed. In effect, since she could uncover no contrary evidence, as a genealogical investigator, she had to conclude that the words of the Bethune family should stand.

However, the problem with Waldon's thesis is that its entire thrust goes against acceptance of the Bethune evidence. Despite Waldon's important contributions to deciphering some of the perplexities of the Henry family life, there was a basic flaw in the assumptions behind the research she undertook. Underlying them was the erroneous notion that Henry's children had to be the result of a marriage, either to Julia Kittson or to a European predecessor much like Julia Kittson. Since no former Mrs. Henry was found, Waldon assumed that his three children -- William, Alexander and Julia -- had to have sprung from the only known marriage he contracted, i.e. the one to Julia Kittson. Waldon's assumption ignores the very obvious possibility that children may result from extra-marital relationships.

Given the stress which historians have placed on country marriages since Waldon's thesis was written, Henry's protracted stay in the Indian country, and "the idea that manly beauty is the same among all nations,"[8] questions come to the mind of interested and inquisitive investigators. For example, and not as an exercise in character assassination: what if Henry's children were the result of a relationship

---

[7]Ibid.

[8]Henry, *Travels*, xxiv-xxv.

which had existed with another woman (or other women) before he met and married Julia Kittson?[9] Is it possible that the mother of one, two, or all of Henry's children could have been Indian or of mixed blood? That others have speculated on questions such as these is suggested by Mrs. Jameson's remark, "I can find no type of the women as Henry does not tell us his adventures among the squaws, but no doubt he might have found both Calypsos and Nausicaas, and even a Penelope, among them,"[10] and by the writings of Mary Hartwell Catherwood,[11] who created a French girl, Marie, whom she linked romantically to Henry, not in Montreal, but while he was in the Indian country.

For that matter, did Catherwood choose the name 'Marie' by purposefully linking the servant, Mary, of Bethune's letter[12] to Henry. This, however, cannot be, since Catherwood's book was published in 1893 and the letter's existence supposedly was not known before Waldon's uncovering of it during her correspondence with Mrs. Kenneth Bethune while pursuing enquiries for her thesis shortly before 1930. Was there, nevertheless, at the time when Catherwood was writing her book, a continuing suspicion, based perhaps on rumour, concerning Henry and Mary, his 'servant', of which Catherwood was aware but which has died a prolonged death? The lack of information surrounding Julia Kittson, her background, and how she came to be married to Alexander Henry has led to

---

[9]If Julia Kittson "was born in the town of Newton-Limavody, Ireland" (Waldon, 46), we may assume that she was not of Indian ancestry.

[10]Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (London, 1838); new ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Steward, 1923), 116. References are to the 1923 edition.

[11]See Mary Hartwell Catherwood, *The White Islander* (New York: Century, 1893).

[12]See Appendix C of Waldon.

much misinformation.

Even after Waldon's thesis, Marjorie Campbell, whose excellent work points to much of the discrepancy between the historical Henry and the actual life of the man, was misled by the lack of information on Julia Kittson; Campbell makes the statement that "Alexander Henry and James McGill were about to marry pretty daughters of their *Canadien* associates."[13] More important than all of these discrepancies: why does Henry write about other sons,[14] who are unknown to history and, even more suspiciously, seem just as unknown to Norman William Bethune, author of the memorandum which defeated all attempts by Waldon to uncover the circumstances surrounding Henry's marriage. It would seem that unravelling the Henry household is an undertaking which historians owe to themselves but, like almost every area of Henry's life, this task has proven to be a daunting challenge.

Based on the evidence at hand and on the tendency of naming children after other members of the family,[15] we may safely assume that since the name does not appear in the earlier Henry family tree,[16] his daughter, Julia, was named after her biological mother, Julia Kittson. Further, in his August 27, 1813[17] letter to Askin, Henry records, with reference to Alexander, that "Mr. McGillavray (sic) is arrived

---

[13]Marjorie Wilkins Campbell, *The North West Company* (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1957); repr., 1973; new ed. with a Foreword by Hugh MacLennan (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983), 20. References throughout are to the 1983 edition.

[14]Waldon, 42-3.

[15]Gough refers to this as "interlocking naming relationships". See Alexander Henry (The Younger), *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger 1799-1814*, ed. Barry M. Gough, Publications of the Champlain Society, 2 vols. LVI, LVII (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1988), vol. 1, xix.

[16]Ibid, xx.

[17]*Michigan History Magazine* 32 (1903): 474-75.

from Grand Portage and brings me the unfortunate account of one of my sons being killed on McKinzeys'(sic) River by the Indians, with all his men -- this is a wound at my time of life that affects *me and his poor Mother*[18] very much." If we accept Henry's words, with reference to Julia Kittson being Alexander's 'mother', as written, and refuse to consider any other possible usages to which the word may be put, we may accept, also, that Alexander was the biological son of Julia Kittson and Alexander Henry.

With regard to his other children, we are not so fortunate for Henry is not as specific in his reports on them. He writes, in the same letter: "*I* have one son at Sea a midshipman which I have not heard of for upwards of two years. *I* think he must be dead -- the only one remaining in the N. West gone to the South Sea. you will see *I* have been unfortunate in my sons."[19] In addition to the significant references to these sons in terms of the first person singular pronoun, these words introduce a number of confusing and historically unexplained contradictions. First, Henry is referring to a son, a midshipman, who seems to be unknown to history. The reference cannot be applicable to Alexander, because earlier in the same letter, he had indicated that Alexander had died. Nor can it be referring to William, because he was not a midshipman in 1813. Secondly, with regard to his only (son) remaining in the N. West (again not named) who has since gone to the South Sea, if we assume that, by the South Sea, Henry meant exactly what he wrote, these words suggest the existence of a second historically unknown son who was, at that time, engaged in trade in the South Sea, possibly China. If this is the case, we are confronted with the probability that, by not mentioning him, Henry seems to be

---

[18]Emphasis mine.

[19]Emphasis mine.

denying the existence of William among his children. Such a conclusion would not be acceptable, however, especially since it is known that William did grow up in his household, a fact which is also acknowledged by Norman W. Bethune. If, on the other hand, we accept that the South Sea here means the Pacific, Henry would seem to be writing about William, since it is also known that William did go to the Pacific coast with Henry, the Younger, in 1813.

On May 9, 1815,[20] the issue of how many sons Henry had is partially clarified by his remark that, "I have only one son Daughter & one son living one was killed in the North West the other died in the West Indies, being a midshipman in the navy." These words confirm Henry's earlier comment that his historically unknown son, the midshipman, had been killed in the West Indies, and reiterate that Alexander had been killed in the North West. Despite their deaths, however, we are left with the confusing conclusion that he still had <u>two</u> sons and a daughter remaining alive. If we continue to assume that his reference to the son in the South Sea is to William, and apply his name to one of these two sons, we are left with confirmation that, in 1815, apart from William, Henry had a second, unnamed, and historically unknown, son still alive. Of this son, nothing further is known, even to Norman William Bethune.

A good example of how confusing this matter of Henry's marriage and children has become will now have to be introduced. Until the publication of David Armour's biography of Henry,[21] the historical consensus, with the notable exception of Waldon, seems to have been that Henry had two

---

[20]*The John Askin Papers: 1747-1820*, ed. Milo M. Quaife, Burton Historical Records, 2 vols. (The Detroit Library Commission, 1928), v. 2, 782.

[21]See David A. Armour, "Alexander Henry", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VI: 316-19.

sons and a daughter. Based on his May 9, 1815 letter, Waldon suggested that there were three sons and a daughter. In contradiction to Waldon, Armour states, with regard to Henry that, "On 11 June 1785 he married a widow, Julia Ketson. Their eldest child, Julia, had been born in October 1780. Four sons, Alexander, William, Robert, and John, were born between 1782 and 1786."[22] Apart from the fact that Armour took considerable licence with the spelling of the Kittson name, his change of the year in which the Henrys were married has the effect of making all, except the last, of the Henry children illegitimate. Given the social stigma which then existed against such relationships, if Henry and Julia were not legally married they would have been excluded from hob-nobbing with the social elite of Montreal. On what basis Armour arrived at the names Robert and John for two of Henry's sons has not been established. It would not be surprising to find, however, that Armour was confused by the identity of another Robert Henry who lived with Henry in Montreal for a time. This Robert Henry had also confused Bain who made him into "an adopted nephew"[23] but, it has since been accepted, based on the evidence provided in the Will of Alexander Henry, the Younger, that this Robert Henry was no adopted nephew and that he was the younger brother of Alexander Henry, the Younger.

In the absence of actual named persons and because there is some confusion in terms of the names of his children, it would seem important to establish what could have been the likely names of Henry's sons. If, as seems evident, he had four sons, based on the naming pattern of the Henry family, his choice of names for his sons would, more than likely, have been limited to either John (in honour of the son's

---

[22]Ibid, 318.

[23]Henry, *Travels*, 32.

grandfather), Alexander (in honour of the son's father), William (in honour of the father's second brother), or James (in honour of the father's uncle, since the father's first brother had been John and James remained the only name from the family tree that was not used thus far).

Alexander Henry, the Elder's first son's name would, by this established naming pattern, most likely, have been John, in honour of his grandfather (The Elder's grandfather was called Alexander and the Elder was named after him. Similarly, the grandfather of the son of Alexander Henry, the Younger, was named John and the first of the grandsons was also given the same name[24]). Continuing in the tradition, the name of the elder Henry's second son should have been Alexander, in honour of his father, the Elder. However, if it is accepted that, according to Henry's letter of August 27, 1813, Alexander was the child of Julia and Henry, and that Henry did have children who were older than Alexander, we are faced with the possibility that Henry had decided, for reasons of his own, not to follow the family's naming traditions. This conjecture raises the probability that Henry may have had his own preferences with regard to which children would be allowed to carry which names. Based on the evidence which this research has uncovered, it would seem that he could only allow the names Alexander and John to be carried by sons who were born in a traditional, legally sanctioned, marriage. This break in the naming traditions of the Henry family is, therefore, of extreme significance; it suggests that, for Henry, there was a difference in the way he perceived children born in and out of legal wedlock.

Evidence in support of such a conclusion is also to be found in the two letters discussed above. In all of his references to William and his two, unnamed, sons, Henry did not link Julia with them. He constantly used the first person

---

[24]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, xx.

singular instead of the first person plural, which suggests that, although he acknowledged being the father of these three sons, Julia may not have been the mother. The second letter does, however, introduce another matter worthy of further consideration. The "& one son," conspicuously and strategically placed behind the "only one son Daughter," may possibly be excused as confusion in the mind of an aging man, evidence of which is not revealed anywhere in his letters. The possibility of senility, if dismissed, leaves only one probable conclusion; it would seem that Henry intended to communicate to Askin that there was something 'different' about the one son he so strategically separated from the only one son Daughter.

This strange description of his one son may hint at a code which existed among those who were involved in country marriages or who had sired illegitimate children. By this strange, yet very effective, separation of the children, Henry could have been expressing the difference in the maternal background of one of his three remaining children. If such a code existed, because of his own experience with children born out of legal wedlock, Askin would have understood, and would have recognized the reference, without Henry's having to be more explicit in his letter. If such a possibility is accepted, it would suggest that, of the two remaining sons, one of them did not share the same maternal background as the others.

Add to these speculations the likely age of Julia Kittson at the time of her marriage. From the evidence provided by the Bethune memorandum, it is clear that when Julia Kittson married Alexander Henry, whether it was twenty-one or twenty-five years after her arrival in Quebec, she must have been approaching that critical, menopausal period in the female life cycle. Indeed, as Waldon succinctly suggests, "Mrs. Kittson must have been a very young widow in 1760 to have had

three children after 1783."[25] According to the evidence introduced so far, Waldon's doubt is enhanced further by our research having changed the total number of children from three to five.

Because of these issues, a search for evidence of children in Henry's pre-marital years is suggested. We will continue to be generous and, ignoring the important consideration of the onset of menopause, allow that Julia Kittson may have been the mother, not of two, but of three children. It should be understood, however, that our generosity can only be based on Henry's having linked "one son & Daughter" conspicuously together. We may now, *for purposes of clarity*, identify the one son remaining alive, who is linked with the daughter, as John, primarily based on the earlier suggestion that the name John would be the preserve of the first-born in legal wedlock. We are, however, faced with the difficulty that no son by the name of John Henry has been linked to Alexander Henry and, moreover, the existence of a son by that name was also unknown to Norman W. Bethune.

Could it be, though, that the John Henry, publicist, who published *On the Origin and Progress of the North-West Company of Canada* was Alexander Henry's son and not, as Gough maintains, "no relation to Alexander Henry"?[26] It would seem, from his footnote, that Gough tried to establish a family link to Alexander Henry, the Younger, not the Elder. Given that the 'packet' mentioned, on August 1, 1808, by Alexander Henry, the Younger, had been sent from Montreal,[27] that it contained information relative to Duncan McGillivray, a man who "had been actively working for British support for Nor'Wester trade

---

[25]Waldon, 45.

[26]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, footnote 280, 327-28.

[27]Ibid, 327.

west of the Rocky Mountains,"[28] it would seem that this packet contained information which had become available, in Montreal, upon the death there of McGillivray on April 9, 1808.

Although the Younger Henry did not state so explicitly, his report leaves the distinct impression that the packet may have been sent by the Elder and that it was considered, by him, to be so important it had to be rushed to the Younger. If this is the case, it suggests two important matters which influence our analysis. First, as late as 1808, the Elder Henry may still have been exerting as much pressure as possible to influence the Younger Henry's actions and decisions with regard to his involvement with the North West Company. However, the Younger seemed to have continued to resist these influences and, in 1811, through means of access which seem to have stymied historians, the hitherto unknown John Henry anonymously published the journal of Duncan McGillivray, "in reworked form,"[29] under the above-mentioned title. Second, it seems not to have been above the Elder's morality to have kept an active lookout for whatever source he could find which would provide information on the North West Company and its activities. Considering that this publication seems to have played an important role in the refusal of a charter to the North West Company,[30] further research on this John Henry is therefore called for.

John Henry's exact date of birth is unknown. He is supposed to have been born in Dublin about 1776,[31] apparently of unknown parenthood. He emigrated to the United States "to

---

[28]Ibid, 328n.

[29]Ibid, 328n.

[30]Gordon Charles Davidson, *The North West Company* (U of California Press, 1918); reissue (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), 126. Reference is to the 1967 reissue.

[31]F. Murray Greenwood, "John Henry", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VIII: 387-90, 387.

seek his fortune about 1796,"[32] and married a Miss Duché in 1800. In Philadelphia, he "had successively edited a newspaper and managed a wine business ... been an active propagandist for the Federalist party in Cambridge, Mass., and run a farm in Vermont, where he had also studied law, given speeches, and written articles in the Federalist cause."[33] In 1807, John Henry moved to Montreal where "society was enlivened"[34] by his arrival. He was "perceived by his new circle -- the McGills, Frobishers, Richardsons, and McGillivrays of the Beaver Club, as well as government officials visiting from Quebec -- to be handsome, charming, learned, and articulate."[35]

John Henry "professed a fervent monarchism,"[36] and his subsequent anonymous writings in the *Montreal Gazette*, the *Canadian Courant*, and the *Quebec Mercury*[37] proved his considerable ability as a propagandist. By 1809, he had so penetrated the inner sanctum of government in Lower Canada, and his opinions were so highly considered, he was dispatched "on an official undercover mission to Vermont and Massachussetts ... to obtain accurate information on the strengths and weaknesses of the two political parties and on public opinion concerning the probability of war"[38] between Britain and the United States. But, based on his dealings with these government officials, John Henry also proved to be, fundamentally, "a lazy man, driven by a profound need to feel

---

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid, 387-88.

[38]Ibid, 388.

important."[39] He was subsequently used by Soubiran, "an engaging rogue, then posing as Edouard, Comte de Crillon, knight of Malta, and scion of a famous noble family of mixed Spanish and French origin,"[40] to betray the British government and extort money from the United States government, thereby creating an international incident between Britain and the United States. By 1812, John Henry had "prudently sailed for France"[41] where "he lived as a gentleman of fortune until his death in 1853."[42] Given the circumstances surrounding his escape to France, it is perhaps not too ungenerous to suggest that the British government's refusal of a charter was largely influenced by the knowledge that the pamphlet which supported the North West Company's application for a charter was written by a disreputable double spy.

Several aspects of John Henry are of concern to this study. The circumstance of his name may be mere coincidence, but when it is linked to the absence of information on his parentage, the name assumes some importance. Is it possible that this John Henry may have been the son of Julia Kittson and Alexander Henry? He was certainly born, at the right time, in Dublin, the city from which John George Kittson originally hailed.[43] Could it be that on his 1776 trip to England, Alexander Henry had visited Dublin and had met Julia Kittson there? Although no information has been uncovered to support this conjecture, the question becomes relevant when one considers the hollow-sounding, almost unlikely explanation given by Norman William Bethune for Julia's presence in

---

[39]Ibid, 389.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid, 390.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Waldon, 45.

Montreal:

> on our Great-grandmother's arrival at Quebec on board the relieving squadron in the spring of 1760 she found herself a widow ... In her various trips across the ocean she had always taken with her certain "ventures" in goods, either way, a common practice in those days and had acquired quite a little money. She, therefore, decided to remain in Canada, where she subsequently married Alexander Henry.[44]

If John Henry, conceived out of wedlock, was the first son of Alexander Henry and Julia Kittson, he could possibly have been left in Dublin with Julia Kittson's parents or relatives and brought up by them after Julia had decided to follow Alexander Henry to Quebec sometime after 1776. In effect, by finding herself faced with an unexplainable pregnancy, Julia Kittson may have compromised herself and her family. Given the social strictures of the times, one solution to her problem may have been to travel to Montreal with her older son and there assume a new life in a different society. Julia Kittson's decision to follow Alexander Henry to Quebec may not have met with her family's approval and, because George Kittson, her son, was of an age where such a trip and life in a foreign society would not have been a major issue, the decision was probably taken that he should accompany his mother to Quebec. That her illegitimate, young son may have inherited some of the Kittson family holdings in Ireland may be suggested by the fact that, while he lived in Paris after 1812, John Henry drew "his income from vast estates in Ireland."[45] If John Henry was the son of Julia and Alexander, and if this son had grown up to be the John Henry

---

[44]Waldon, 45-6.

[45]Greenwood, 390.

under discussion, much of the personality and behaviours, the highly inflated sense of self-importance, the almost compulsive drive for respectability of that John Henry, as revealed in his short stay in Lower Canada, would be understandable.

Having, in 1807, finally found his mother and father, John Henry may have experienced a rude shock when he was made aware of the identity of some of his other family members,[46] but he would also have had, through his father, the best possible person to introduce him into the circle of Beaver Club members whom he impressed so strongly in a very short time. Above all, however, given his proven ability as a propagandist and his reworking of the McGillivray journal, unlike Norman Bethune, John Henry was a man with the ideological bent, the desire for recognition, and the proven skills required to produce Alexander Henry's *Travels*.[47] Add to this the almost inscrutable statement of Miss J.B. Bethune that

> [T]he memoirs of Alexander Henry were merely his diary. He was referring to this book, once to settle a discussion when the man to whom he was talking asked if he might borrow the book to read of his adventures in the far North. He took the book, copied it and sold it in New York and it was published without Henry's consent and to his great disgust.[48]

The man referred to here could not have been a total stranger to Alexander Henry. The latter must have had some

---

[46]The reasons for this will become clearer as the identities of his other family members are established.

[47]There has been, historically, some speculation on who was the actual author of Alexander Henry's *Travels*, which will be discussed in greater detail in the subsequent chapter.

[48]Waldon, 54-5.

trust in that person in order to loan him what appears to have been a prized possession, his diary. If this man was John Henry, and if he presented himself as the son of Alexander Henry, the loaning of the diary would have been a perfectly understandable manner by which to introduce a long absent son to his father's earlier experiences. But, based on the Bethune statement, when Alexander Henry had passed on his diary to that person, and if that person was John Henry, Alexander Henry likely did not know that John Henry was a man of considerable writing ability or that, through his having been involved in publishing in the United States, he had the means of quickly opening the publishing door to Isaac Riley.

It is evident that much more research is required on the identity and background of the John Henry under discussion. The research is important not only for what it might reveal about John Henry but also for the additional insight it would offer on the enigmatic Julia Kittson/Henry; on the marriages of fur traders to European women; on experiences of women such as Julia Kittson when they were faced with unwanted or illegitimate pregnancies; and on the possible answer it may provide to the question of whether John Henry may actually have written Alexander Henry's *Travels*. Although such research has proven to be beyond the scope of this work, it would not be surprising if it were found that this John Henry was the eldest son of Alexander Henry and Julia Kittson. Moreover, if John Henry was found to be the son of Alexander Henry and Julia Kittson, his subsequent disgraced position in the United States and in Lower Canada would help to explain his subsequent disappearance from the Henry family tree.

Having identified Julia Kittson as the mother of Alexander and having suggested, with extreme caution, that John Henry, publicist, spy, and accomplished extortionist, may also have been her son, we now have to consider another question: who was William Henry's mother? Fortunately, a tiny aspect of William's appearance remains to us -- the

daguerreotype of him which was published with Bain's 1901 edition of the *Travels*. This artifact shows the likeness of an individual whose physiognomy suggests 'Indian' features. Added to this is the incontrovertible evidence of one who would have been very knowledgeable on the background of William Henry. On May 18th, 1814, just before his death, the Younger Henry records: "Quarrel between Mr. McT and H. [William Henry]. Orders from Fort William [produced] &c. Poor H. [William]. He fain would dispute his right with his Uncle, but there is too much brow beating."[49]

Much can be written, at this point, about the mysteriously missing portion of The Younger Henry's journal, but such matters will not be pursued here. Of much greater significance to us is the fact that Alexander Henry, the Younger, clearly identifies John George McTavish as William Henry's uncle.[50] But, McTavish could only have been William's uncle under two scenarios. First, Henry the Elder may have had a 'relationship' with McTavish's sister. This possibility can be discounted because it is known that McTavish came to Montreal from Scotland only as late as 1798,[51] that no sister came with him, and that Henry was, at that time, firmly wedded to Julia Kittson. The second scenario would hold that the Elder had been married, according to the custom of the country, to the aunt of a woman who later became McTavish's

---

[49]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 2, 742.

[50]In his editing of the Younger's Journal, Coues makes this Mr. McT into Mr. D. McTavish. In *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger 1799-1814*, Gough does not take the same liberties. It is clear, in this version, that Mr. McT refers specifically to John George McTavish, and that Henry consistently makes clear the identity of the other McTavishes, Donald and Alexander, by inserting before their surname the initial D or A.

[51]*Documents Relating to the North West Company*, ed. W. Stewart Wallace, Publications of The Champlain Society XXII (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), 485.

country wife.

This second probability is worth exploring. According to Sylvia Van Kirk, John George McTavish arrived in the vicinity of Moose Factory in 1803, and "took for a country wife Charlotte, a daughter of John Thomas, the HBC's chief at Moose Factory, and his native wife,"[52] Margaret.[53] Thomas was, by this time, an old hand in the fur trade, having been present in the area when Alexander Henry had arrived there, in 1775, to set up a post and to begin trading.[54] Although there is no record in his *Travels* of Henry's having taken a sister of Margaret as country wife, the fact that the Younger has stated that McTavish was William's uncle confirms that he did become involved with one of Margaret's sisters and that William, the result of that union, was subsequently taken to Montreal with his brother James[55] in 1776, in the same way and for the same reasons that had caused Askin to justify having taken his three children away from their mother and for having transported them from Michilimackinac to Detroit.

Detroit was, in 1778, very much a military frontier town and, like Michilimackinac, it was largely unaffected by anti-Indian sentiments. As a result, Askin's children grew up there enjoying the fruits which a loving and well-to-do father could offer his mixed-blood children. From his comfortable frontier home, Askin could afford to rebuke Charles Patterson's cavalier treatment, upbraiding him for abandoning and selling a child "that every body but yourself says is

---

[52]Sylvia Van Kirk, "John George McTavish", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VII: 577-78, 577.

[53]Elaine Allan Mitchell, "John Thomas," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VI, 766.

[54]Armour, 317.

[55]James' likely identity will be dealt with shortly.

yours."[56] Perhaps, at that time, Henry shared Askin's frontier view and, when he returned to Montreal in 1776, he had anticipated no problems in raising his mixed-blood sons in the same way that Askin was raising his children. That Henry was somewhat successful, in this regard, is suggested by Norman William Bethune's acknowledgement of William as Henry's child. But it would also have to be admitted that, in 1776, Henry and Askin acted in a much more responsible manner than did McTavish who, in the fall of 1806, abandoned James Bay and "returned to Quebec, leaving a distressed Charlotte behind,"[57] more than likely with a parcel of children, as his subsequent history reveals.

John George McTavish's behaviour toward Indian or mixed-blood women and his reluctance to take or fear of taking them back to Montreal may not have been, at this early stage, indicative of personal or racial prejudice; however, it may be very suggestive of changing social attitudes in Montreal in the thirty-year period 1776-1806. The mixed-blood children of these marriages also seem to have grown up largely ignorant of their maternal ancestry. In the case of William Henry, for example, it would seem that he knew nothing of the other half of his ancestry until he had been in the western fur trade for some years. As one of mixed blood who had spent his early years in a more tolerant Montreal environment and who may have been somewhat sheltered and insulated by a caring father from the less tolerant aspects of the larger society, William Henry's knowledge that McTavish had so recklessly abandoned his recently discovered relative(s) may have been the source of considerable discomfort. In 1813 at Astoria, because of McTavish's superior position in the company structure, William would have had to be not only deferential

---

[56]David R. Farrell, "John Askin," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* V: 37-9, 39.

[57]Van Kirk, *DCB*, 577.

to him but also he would have had to stand idly by while McTavish proceeded to take "as his second mixed-blood country wife, Nancy McKenzie."[58] William's attempt to deal with his discomfort could have been the source of the too much brow beating which, sadly, the younger Henry records him as having engaged in at Astoria.

Based on our having found William's mother, however, we may next proceed to the final step -- identifying the possible mother of James. While Askin was at Michilimackinac in the early 1760s, his life there demonstrates another aspect worth remarking upon. According to Quaife, as a result of his involvement with an Indian woman, Manette (or Monette), Askin had three children: John Jr., Catherine, and Madelaine. Askin's relationship with this woman will not be dignified by calling it a country marriage; the mother was a slave who seems to have served her purpose and was, perhaps as a means of assuaging guilt, manumitted by Askin on September 9, 1766. Unlike many, especially southern, slaveholders of that era,[59] however, Askin, there can be no doubt,

> regarded the children as legally his own, and discharged for them the complete obligation of a tender and loving parent. All were educated, in so far as lay within his power, reared to civilization, and all contracted honorable marriage unions.[60]

---

[58]Ibid, 578.

[59]See, for example: Kenneth M, Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Knopf, 1956; new ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989; Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976); Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974).

[60]Askin, vol. 1, 13.

Also of considerable significance to our discussion is the fact that, despite or because of a June 21, 1772 marriage to Marie-Archange Barthe, a member of a prominent local Detroit family[61] with whom he had nine children, Askin raised these mixed-blood children in his frontier household. Even after the family had moved from Detroit, the children were brought up with no untoward effect, "occupying a family status identical with that enjoyed by the children born to Mrs. Askin."[62] In this regard, it is interesting that Alexander Henry's slave woman of the time, Chopin,[63] who is as unknown as Askin's Monette, had a son baptized on May 23, 1763. Given the facts surrounding Askin's relationship with his slave woman, and knowing that Askin and Henry seem to have shared not only similar experiences but also a similar outlook on life, is it possible that Chopin's child was Alexander Henry's son? We know that Alexander Henry was not the father of this particular child since Mr. Du Jaunay, the missionary who performed the baptism, made it clear that the child was given the name Joseph and that "the father of the child was one la Mothe, a voyageur."[64] One wonders, though, given the strong sense of familiarity with her new master which Chopin displayed,[65] if this relationship involved far more than that

---

[61]Farrell, 39.

[62]Askin, vol. 1, 14.

[63]*Wisconson Historical Collections* 19 (1910), 67.

[64]Ibid.

[65]When Chopin offered her child for baptism, her reaction to Mr. Jaunay's suggestion that she too be baptized, is indicative of a person with a high degree of self-esteem, the result, perhaps, of having formed an accepted and meaningful relationship with a prominent trader. Chopin protested that "she had never had any other faith than that of the holy Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church and that her new master had promised her never to force her with regard to her Religious belief" (Ibid).

of master/slave, if a son was the result of this familiarity, and if this son was given a name other than John or Alexander.

Following the Askin example, it is possible also to speculate that this son may subsequently have travelled to Montreal with Henry when he returned there in 1776. If this was the case, we would be in a position to identify the only remaining son, James, as possibly Henry's first-born son, not with Julia Kittson or with Margaret's aunt but with Chopin, his unknown slavewoman. Since this son, the midshipman, died in the West Indies, there is no need to belabour his memory. Further, we may conclude our investigation of the 'veil' surrounding the Henry household by suggesting that the order of birth of Henry's sons seems to have been as follows: James, William, John, and lastly, Alexander. But, if this finding holds up to further scrutiny, it also indicates that, in the naming of his children, Alexander Henry purposely chose to depart from the family's established naming pattern. The names of the children, especially the two names Alexander and John, could only be handed down to those born in legal wedlock. Perhaps in breaking this tradition, Alexander Henry revealed the seed of the already existing plant from which the concept of 'difference' would spring and grow to pervade, not only his household, but also the larger society in later years.

In our examination of the bosom of his family, the most important finding seems to be that we may have hit upon a key aspect of the historiography surrounding Alexander Henry, the Elder. It seems evident that some very important aspects of his life, especially with regard to his wife and children, have conveniently been made to disappear. Just as important, because the Bethune family members who seem to have handed down much of the historical information do not seem to have been aware of some very crucial pieces of information, that source has begun to appear somewhat questionable. In order to appreciate this conjecture, however, we must delve deeper into

the history of that family to see what light it may shed on the Henry household.

CHAPTER V - BEHIND 'THE VEIL'

Having received his Loyalist land grant in the seigneury of Lancaster, Glengarry County in 1786,[1] the Reverend John Bethune removed his family to that location. By 1807 he had built St. Andrews church there, but he and Veronique were struggling in considerable poverty to raise a brood of eight children, excluding Angus, who was, by that time and as a result of the help of the Elder Henry, engaged in the fur trade with the Younger Henry. The second son, Norman, who "had no liking for farming but an aptitude for figures ... set out for Montreal about 1807 with all his father had to give him, his blessing and an introduction to Alexander Henry."[2] He was taken into the Henry household and, shortly thereafter, probably was "employed by Alexander Henry ..... and was subsequently taken into partnership."[3] He seemed to have become, eventually, a "well-placed merchant and forwarder"[4] but his importance, for the historian, extends far beyond his business involvement with the elder Henry, or his eventual marriage into the immediate family circle.[5]

Waldon has made the bold suggestion that Norman Bethune

---

[1]Mary Larratt Smith, *Prologue to Norman: The Canadian Bethunes* (Ottawa: Mosaic, 1976), 19.

[2]Freda F. Waldon, "Alexander Henry, esq., of Montreal, Fur Trader, Adventurer, and Man of Letters," Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 1930; copied by Hamilton Public Library, 1949, 49.

[3]Ibid, 51.

[4]Peter Ennals, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VII, 75; and based on his ability to travel to England in pursuit of new business activities as revealed by his letter of January 27, 1822 (Waldon, Appendix C).

[5]Waldon, 46, 50. According to Waldon, on 25 August, 1822, Norman Bethune married Margaret Kittson, daughter of George Kittson and Anne Tucker.

was, most likely, the person who skilfully combined Henry's "details, from time to time committed to paper"[6] of his travels, with the stories which Henry "would often have related to his family circle,"[7] to produce an effective manuscript, worthy of immediate publication. Given that John Thomas Lee has unequivocally stated that "it needs but a modicum of critical faculty to discern that Henry never penned the work bearing his name, in the form in which it was printed,"[8] and that others, including Quaife, editor of the third edition of Henry's *Travels*,[9] have since acknowledged the validity of Lee's pronouncement, Waldon's inciteful suggestions are of critical importance.[10] Considering that in 1809 Henry was experiencing considerable financial setbacks, Waldon's suggestion that Bethune may have written and prepared the manuscript of *Travels* for publication[11] is worth pursuing in light of MacLaren's suggestion that "it is necessary to keep in mind that first contacts between Native North

---

[6]Alexander Henry (The Elder), *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776* (New York: printed and published by I. Riley, 1809); ed. James Bain (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1901); facs. repr. of 1901 ed. (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1966), Author's Preface. References throughout are to the facsimile reprint.

[7]Waldon, 98.

[8]John Thomas Lee, "Captain Jonathan Carver: Additional Data", in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1912: 103-04.

[9]Alexander Henry (The Elder), *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories*, ed. Milo M. Quaife (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1921), xxiii.

[10]The author has found no attempt to refute Ms. Waldon's suggestion and therefore takes it as being generally accepted, if not fully then, as a strong probability by historians.

[11]Having earlier indicated that John Henry may have been the author of Henry's *Travels*, I should like to allow Waldon's suggestion full play without, at this stage, subjecting it to too much scrutiny.

Americans and Europeans involved ... [Europeans'] retrospective imagination and their publishers."[12]

Waldon has suggested further that, perhaps unknown to Henry, based primarily on youthful enthusiasm,[13] and in hope of making a useful contribution to the financial affairs of his benefactor, Norman may have pirated Henry's diary and passed a manuscript, based on the diary, on to Isaac Riley[14], publisher and printer of the 1809 edition of *Travels*. Once Bethune became aware that the book could be published, it would have been an easy matter of convincing Henry to acknowledge the work as his own. It is also known that Henry subsequently travelled to New York, added an already prepared 'Author's Preface' and 'Dedication' after the title had already been registered.[15] Although Waldon's suggestions are very plausible, there are two aspects worth further consideration. First, Waldon has given no objective reason as to why Norman's youthful enthusiasm would lead to the undertaking of a venture as demanding as the writing of *Travels* would have been. Second, Waldon does not provide a link which would enable us to understand how a meeting between Isaac Riley and Norman Bethune could have come about. It is true that Waldon has outlined, based on one rather romantic letter, all of the qualities in Norman Bethune's style of writing which would make him an ideal candidate for having been the author of *Travels*, but she left a major avenue open for exploration which could have provided her with a reason for Norman having taken on the task of writing *Travels*.

---

[12]I.S. MacLaren, "Samuel Hearne's Accounts of the Massacre at Bloody Fall, 17 July 1771," *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature* 22.1 (Jan. 1991): 25-51, 43.

[13]Waldon, 55, 99.

[14]Waldon, 98.

[15]This is essentially Waldon's view also.

A very competent someone must have instilled, in the twenty-year old Norman, an education which would have given this young man such ability. Looking into his family background, the distinct possibility exists that John Strachan, the man who would subsequently shape the education and the careers of Norman's younger brothers, John and Alexander Neil, had a hand in the education of Norman Bethune. That Strachan was an extremely successful teacher is attested to by the number of his students who became prominent members of society in Upper and Lower Canada. With regard to his influence on the Bethune family, it is an accepted historical fact that Strachan's influence on the family was such that John Bethune would later become the Dean of Montreal and the first principal of McGill University, Alexander Neil would subsequently succeed Strachan as Bishop of Toronto, and Bethune College at Oshawa was named after him.

That Strachan knew Henry or that he was very aware of Henry's important place in Montreal society is suggested by his letter to Thomas Blackwood of 13 October 1802:

> I had little intention of inquiring further, but understanding some days after from Mr. Forsyth that a great proportion of the most respectable people of Montreal were connected with the Presbyterian Church, or at any rate could be connected with it, were the clergymen agreeable, I desired Mr. Cartwright to enquire of his friends were there any person in the field and what encouragement might be expected. As he has not mentioned the subject since, his friends (Messrs. Todd and McGill) have not, I presume, answered his letter.[16]

That Henry and the Rev. Bethune had obviously maintained a close friendship, that the latter and Strachan had formed a

---

[16]*John Strachan: Documents and Opinion - A Selection*, ed. J.L.H. Henderson (Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1969) 22.

close attachment, and that, shortly after his arrival in Upper Canada, Strachan became very aware that Henry and his friends could play a significant role in his purposes are all very suggestive coincidences. It is also known that Henry was one of those Montreal merchants whom Strachan considered sufficiently important to have kept his name on the mailing list of those who were to receive his most famous sermon. That Strachan felt there was a need for other books detailing the experiences of fur traders other than Sir Alexander Mackenzie is also suggested in his letter to "a friend abroad: 'You have no doubt seen Mackenzie's voyages across the continent ... the praise he acquired tho' not diminished should be extended to some of his mercantile associates.'"[17]

All of these coincidences point to the probability that Norman's placement in Henry's household may not have been as accidental as Waldon suggests; it may have been the first step in a very purposeful career assignment which had the complete blessing and support of John Strachan, the Rev. Bethune, and Henry. To suppose such a likelihood, however, would be to give to the character of John Strachan a deviousness which is almost beyond belief. But given Strachan's proven political acumen and given that the work has had such an influence on the historiography, it would have to be admitted that Norman did carry out his assignment successfully. We are still left, however, with no explanation for the link between Norman Bethune and Isaac Riley and when a comparison is made, in terms of style, opportunity, and experience, between Norman Bethune and John Henry, the likelihood that John Henry was the more likely candidate for having written *Travels* stands out significantly.

Although a definitive answer on who was the author of

---

[17]Quoted in Marjorie Wilkins Campbell, *The North West Company* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1957); repr., 1973; new ed. with a Foreword by Hugh MacLennan (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983), 131-32. References throughout are to the 1983 edition.

Travels escapes the research undertaken here, this much is clear -- the work does not entirely reflect some aspects of Henry's views. Although, in his business life, Henry seems not to have been actively hostile toward Indians or those of part-Indian ancestry, his personal life, especially with regard to his children, seems suspect; it suggests more than a mere glimmer of difference in his treatment of the women of Indian or mixed backgrounds. His inability to take them as wife, as permanent mothers of his children, and his separation of the children from their mothers seem to suggest that, although a relationship with the mothers may have been convenient, indeed necessary in Indian country, in the wider world, where societal norms, based on a confused concept of race, dictated who would or would not be included among their numbers, legal marriages to Indian women could not have been entertained. The evidence seems to point to the possibility that in the Montreal of 1776 there were those, like Alexander Henry, who could not accept traditional, legal marriages to full-blooded Indian women. Although the McGills, Frobishers, and other leaders of the North West Company fur trade society felt free to celebrate their marriages to the mixed-blood daughters of the French-Canadian voyageurs and had been able, as a result, to command respect in the society which they controlled, the full-blooded Indian mothers of these women were not allowed to become an acceptable part of the larger society.

That Henry may not have been as generous as the larger community, that even mixed-blood women may not have been acceptable marriage partners to him, may be indicated by his marriage to Julia Kittson. In his choice of a permanent partner, Henry seems to have departed from the pattern which was being followed by the Montreal fur trade elite of his time, most of whom invariably seem to have married the mixed-blood daughters of their French-Canadian predecessors. Perhaps Henry's choice may have been the result of his having

been of an 'American' rather than of a Scottish background. However, to suppose, because he made a 'different' choice than most of his fur trade contemporaries, and to ascribe racial motives, primarily based on that choice, would be tantamount to reverse discrimination. Still, one cannot but wonder whether underlying the depiction of Indian women, the convenient way in which they were made to always save his life in *Travels*, is a measure of compensation, employed by his ghost writer as a means of assuaging a sense of guilt for Henry's having rejected his Indian consorts.

If, however, the work does not accurately reflect Henry's views on Indians, if it bears an exorbitant amount of the ghost writer's philosophy, if Norman Bethune's or John Henry's anti-Indian views pervade the work, perhaps Henry's negative first reaction to it was suggestive of an attitude which was slightly less severe than that of the unknown ghost writer's. According to Miss J.B. Bethune, when Henry first learned about *Travels*, he reacted to it with "great disgust."[18] Henry's disgust could hardly have been based on the treatment accorded Indian women in *Travels* for, if he did not quite agree with the manner in which the work evaded involvement with them, it offered him little reason for reacting so strongly. Perhaps, however, Henry sensed the difficulty involved in the depiction of Wawatam. This degree of acuity may not, however, be properly ascribed to Henry since we have allowed that it is a response based on and more appropriately belonging to the twentieth century.

Given, however, that late-twentieth-century readers may accept that Henry seems to have had a different set of norms when dealing with Indians, it is conceivable that the inconsistency in his attitude was picked up by those who had listened to his night-time stories in Montreal, but that this inconsistency was largely taken for granted by his relatives,

---

[18]Waldon, 55.

being themselves members of a society whose attitudes toward Indians, informed largely by the travel literature of the time, were undergoing radical change. Although Henry's less inciteful negative attitude toward Indians may have been unconsciously communicated to his family, Henry himself may not have been aware of such attitudes until they were clearly articulated by the ghost writer of *Travels*. When Henry was presented with it, his reaction could have been one of disgust for it would have been the first time that he had been confronted with a truth about himself.

But if this conjecture should be accepted as possible, it would then have to be allowed, further, that the basic attitude towards Indian women, as demonstrated in the lives of Henry and McTavish, may not have been very different; McTavish may only have been more honest, more direct in his actions, and that directness could have been suggestive of the hardening of negative attitudes toward those of Indian or mixed blood in the younger members of the Montreal community. In trying to present a model fur trader to the world, one more in keeping with the new hoped-for norm, Henry's ghost writer seems to have been faced with a tremendous difficulty. He was forced to create a *legendary* Henry, one who could not have been allowed fully to express what had been his true relationship with Indians, who could not have been allowed to deny the new and evolving attitudes in the larger society but who, given the need for an acceptable, larger than life hero, had to point the way in terms of the new relationship which was expected from fur traders in their dealings with Indians.

Thus far, by examining several possible reasons for a disgusted response on Alexander Henry's part to the work which bears his name, we have not been able to find any one cause which is deserving of acceptance of J.B. Bethune's statement. Indeed, if anything, the statement makes it more difficult to accept that Norman Bethune was the ghost writer of *Travels* for Norman could not have been the casual, passing acquaintance

with whom Henry had been discussing his diary in 1808. If we accept, however, that John Henry may have been Alexander Henry's son, with whom he had only recently become acquainted, when Alexander Henry later made the discovery that his diary had been 'pirated' by his own son, his disgusted reaction would have been fully understandable. Whether John Henry or Norman Bethune was the ghost writer of Henry's *Travels*, this much is clear. From every perspective so far examined, the matter of a schism, along racial lines, in the Henry household has taken on tremendous significance. That this schism was of considerable concern to fur traders and that, not much later, there was fear of an open rupture in families and in the community, not only in Montreal but, in many areas of fur trade society, is clearly suggested in Askin's remark: "All my Children ... continue to behave as I could wish And I think Mrs. Askin and I have lived so long at peace with each other that I do not dread any rupture will take place in future."[19]

This heart-warming assurance aside, in the Bethune family, there is definite evidence of the loss of racial solidarity. The Reverend John Bethune had married Veronique Waddin, daughter of Jean Etiènne Waddin and Marie Josephe De Guire. According to the Bethune genealogy, handed down by Professor A.H. Young via another Bethune, even the female head of the Bethune clan, Veronique Waddin, was later affected by the new demands of society. Her background was changed; she was given respectability by making her the daughter of a Professor Wadden of the University of Geneva,[20] despite the fact that there were members of the Bethune family who knew that "she was born in Canada -- [but that] there was

---

[19]David R. Farrell, "John Askin," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* V: 37-9, 39.

[20]Miss Smith is here referring to A.H. Young, *The Bethunes* (Ontario Historical Society, 1933).

something not very nice"[21] in her background. A later member of the Bethune family identifies that "not very nice" something as "Indian blood, which the De Guires may well have had considering how long they and their kin had been in the country."[22]

How this change in Veronique's background was brought about remains a mystery, not only to historians, but to later Bethunes. Ms. Smith would later sum up her frustration in the following lines:

> It is unfortunate that Professor Young listened to Cousin Beatrice, but that is what he did. Beatrice, the great-granddaughter of John and Veronique Bethune obligingly told him the story as she had heard it from her elders, who had had it told to them, by whom, I do not know.[23]

The change in the family genealogy of the Bethune clan seems to have come about at some time during the lifetimes of the second and third generations of Bethunes and is most strongly reflected in the lives of Angus and Norman Bethune.

Because of his having come to manhood in Indian country, Angus Bethune not only "fathered at least two children by Indian women"[24] but married Louisa McKenzie, the mixed-blood daughter of Roderick McKenzie. There is no record of what happened to Angus Bethune's children with full-blooded Indian women but, Louisa's exclusion from the family was even more extreme than the treatment given Veronique. It was so complete that her Bethune relatives, "because of her Indian

---

[21]Smith, 43.

[22]Ibid, 44.

[23]Ibid, 24.

[24]Hilary Russell, "Angus Bethune," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VIII: 85-6, 85.

blood,"[25] separated her from the rest of the family, and "persisted in referring to her as Miss Green Blanket."[26] Angus Bethune, however, seems to have been written out of the family history so that Mary Smith would first learn about him and "his branch of the family through a chance remark about his wife, at a party given for their descendants, Norman Bethune[27] and his English cousins, the Patterson girls, in London in 1921."[28] That chance remark itself is of significance: "How very Indian they looked. Neither they nor Norman know that their great-grandmother Louisa Mackenzie, the wife of our great-uncle Angus Bethune, was an Indian."[29] This remark suggests that their greatuncle Angus had been found so objectionable, because of his marriage to the mixed-blood Louisa, that he had been written out of the family genealogy. These remarks add up to confirmation that, by the time of Angus and Norman Bethune (1820s), Montreal society was not accepting of fur traders' marriages to mixed-blood women. Additionally, these mixed-blood daughters were no longer being treated any differently from their 'full-blooded' Indian relatives; indeed, the remark suggests that they were now considered Indian and deserved to be treated as such.

To his credit, Angus Bethune did not give in to the growing prejudice beginning to show in the evolving society. He did not desert his mixed-blood wife, Louisa; he did not follow the example of John George McTavish who deserted Louisa's sister, Nancy, in order to satisfy the new social demands being made on the leaders of fur trade society. It is

---

[25]Smith, 45.

[26]Ibid, 65.

[27]This reference is to Norman Henry Bethune.

[28]Smith, 44.

[29]Ibid, 45.

certain that the mixed-blood William Henry would have had a much higher regard and respect for Angus Bethune who, after his wife's death, took his children, including "twelve year old Norman who at that time was barely literate, and left the boy with [his] younger brother, Alexander Neil Bethune, the rector of St. Peter's Anglican Church in Cobourg."[30] Under the influence of John Strachan and Alexander Neil, this Norman Bethune would grow up to occupy a prominent place in Upper Canada's medical history, and to be the grandfather of Norman Henry Bethune, the Canadian hero to whom Ms. Smith is referring in her 1921 encounter. By that time, his great-grandfather, Angus, had been discarded by the Bethune family because he had committed the intolerable sin of having married an Indian woman.

That William Henry had good reason, in 1813, for disliking McTavish's behaviour is further suggested by the latter's subsequent treatment of Nancy McKenzie, the sister of the wife of his friend, Angus Bethune. By her McTavish had fathered at least five children. These he abandoned on February 22, 1830, "when on furlough in Scotland, [he] married Catherine A. Turner of Turner Hill, Aberdeenshire, thus taking the unprecedented step of casting aside his mixed-blood wife without first making provision for her."[31] But McTavish's later behaviour is more suggestive of how far westward the racial attitudes, first seen in Montreal society, had spread. Between 1813 and 1830, the widespread adoption of the new attitudes toward Indian and mixed-blood women can be seen in other members of the Henry family.

Alexander Henry, the Younger, twice married (according to the custom of the country) to Indian women whose names he did not feel the need to record, demonstrates the continuity of

---

[30]Ibid, 66.

[31]Sylvia Van Kirk, "John George McTavish," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VII: 577-78, 578.

the Elder Henry's attitudes; his Indian wives seem to have been considered fit consorts while in Indian country but unfit material for 'permanent' marriage. Like his uncle, he preferred instead to choose Jane Barnes for this lofty role, at whatever cost: "The course is evident to me ... I am fully determined to support what I conceive my right, even at the displeasure of every person on the Columbia."[32] It is clear from his journal, but most particularly in his Will, that this Henry had no intention of taking his mixed-blood children to Montreal, or Cobourg, the place which seems, incidentally, to have been growing by leaps and bounds as the mecca for those fur traders who had married Indian or mixed-blood women and who wished to remain married to them.

Alexander Henry, the Younger's preference for the eventual placement of his children seems to have been a life in Indian country, separated from the uncomfortable changes which were proceeding in the more 'civilized' British North American community. Perhaps, though, he ought not to be judged in the same category as his uncle, having arrived at his decision based, perhaps, on the unfavourable experiences with which those of mixed blood surrounding him, including William Henry, were being confronted by 1814. Despite the negative comments which the younger Henry records about Indians, his intentions toward his mixed-blood children were clearly communicated in his Will. After providing for the older children with his first consort, he made clear his intentions with regard to the younger ones with his second country wife:

> unto an Indian woman, daughter of an Indian commonly called the Buffaloe of the Chipway tribe of Indians, and who has been in the habit of living

---

[32]Alexander Henry (The Younger), *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger 1799-1814*, ed. Barry M. Gough, Publications of the Champlain Society, 2 vols. LVI, LVII (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1988), vol. 2, 739.

> with me since the year 1802. Unto this said woman I request my Executors to pay annually the Sum of Sixty Pounds Halifax Currency as long as she may have the charge of three girls and one boy, Elizabeth, Julia, Ann and William, all four whom are now living with her at this present Period in the North West or Indian Country, or until she (the Mother) is otherwise provided for according to the custom of this Country, and then the aforesaid sum of Sixty Pounds per annum to be paid annually unto the said four Children to each an equal proportion of Fifteen Pounds each, until they are also provided for according to the custom of This Country, the girls with a husband, Partner or helpmate, and the Boy in a situation to earn his own living in whatever manner he may adopt as may be his fate. And then all such payments to cease and be null. I wish it to be fully understood that the above sum of Sixty Pounds is intended for the support of the aforesaid four children, until they are generally provided for and settled as above mentioned, and not by any means intended for the use of their Mother longer than she may remain single and have the care of them.[33]

Despite his having given detailed instructions as to how, where, when, and by whom these payments were to be made, along with how the money was to be invested to ensure that his intentions would be met, there is no evidence to be found that the younger Henry's Will was ever acted upon. The words of John Macdonnell seem to be very applicable to this situation:

> I am informed by those who have been in the Country since the first formation of that trade that few, very few, of the children and grandchildren of

---

[33]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, lxix.

> those who acquired property in that trade have enjoyed much of it, what the cause can be I leave to you to guess.[34]

The cause, in this case, seems to be suggested by events after the Younger's death. As reported earlier, Alexander Henry, the Elder, did take steps to collect the wages due to the younger Henry. This suggests that he may have collected other monies due the estate and that he and George Kittson, the second of four executors, may have decided simply to confiscate the money in payment for the elder Henry's losses as a result of the abrupt termination of future trade with Astor. That George Kittson was living, at the time, in the Henry household, adds further to this conjecture. Further, the two other executors seem, during this period, not to have been able to protect the interests of the younger Henry's children because they became deeply embroiled in problems of their own. They were both arrested by Lord Selkirk and, as a result, Hugh McGillis was tied up in court battles until 1816,[35] and Kenneth McKenzie "drowned, while still a prisoner, on Lake Superior in 1817."[36] In the end, through confiscating the younger Henry's assets, the price of the younger Henry's resistance to the elder's patronage ambitions may have been paid in full.

With the death of the younger Henry, Angus Bethune seems to have become the leader of the northwestern faction of the continuing Henry saga. In 1815, he journeyed to Montreal -- to visit his mother, perhaps; Veronique Bethune had moved to

---

[34]A.G. Morice, "Sidelights on the Careers of Miles Macdonell and His Brothers," *Canadian Historical Review* 10 (December 1929): 324.

[35]*Documents Relating to the North West Company*, ed. W. Stewart Wallace, Publications of The Champlain Society XXII (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), 468.

[36]Ibid, 478.

Montreal after her husband's death, having "sold the Williamstown property to the famous explorer-geographer, David Thompson,"[37] another of Angus' close friends in the northwest. There may, however, have been another reason for Angus to undertake this arduous journey. One of the unknowns surrounding the Younger's journal is that there seems to be no record of how that journal was transported from the shores of the Columbia to Montreal or Cobourg. Of the individuals at Fort George (the former Astoria) there are two who could have had a strong interest in its safekeeping -- either William Henry or Angus Bethune. Although it may have been kept by William Henry, Angus Bethune's decision to travel to Montreal in 1815 suggests that these two gentlemen may have decided that the sensible thing to do with the journal was to deliver it, by hand, to the family patriarch, Alexander Henry, the Elder.

Although Henry's will clearly specified that Robert Henry, his younger brother, was to have eventual control over his assets, including his "Books, Papers and other writings,"[38] there does not seem to be any proof that Robert Henry actually received the journal or that he actually ever had much input into the settlement of the Younger's estate. Indeed, like the two other executors, Hugh McGillis and Kenneth McKenzie, Robert Henry became deeply involved in the Selkirk affair. As a result of his keeping his uncle abreast of developments in the North West Company and some of his correspondence falling into the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, he was forced into early retirement from the fur trade, in 1817. Although he was present in Montreal, perhaps to settle the Younger's estate, at the time of Angus Bethune's

---

[37]Smith, 22.

[38]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, lxx.

visit in 1815,[39] there is no reason to believe that the journal was removed from Montreal by him, especially considering that he was, like Bethune, returning to the northwest. Again, the evidence seems to suggest that the journal was left in the hands of Alexander Henry, the Elder.

It seems that Angus Bethune and Robert Henry first became acquainted with each other during their Montreal visit of 1815 since their paths in the northwest did not seem to cross before that year. It would also appear that, after their 1815 visit to Montreal, Angus and Robert may have formed similar views on the new social situation in Montreal, for when Robert retired from the fur trade, he chose not to settle in Montreal but in Cobourg, a community which was much more conducive to his and many other fur traders' social views. There he married one of the Bethune daughters, Christine, and went on to become a successful businessman and banker. There is no evidence to suggest that Robert Henry and his wife ever exhibited any further interest in the younger Henry's journal after 1817. Gough suggests that

> Christine Farrand *nee* Bethune, seems to have taken some interest in these documents. She is referred to as the 'Mrs Henry' who assisted the journalist, historian and collector of documents, George Coventry (1793-1870), also of Cobourg, with his transcription of the entire Henry manuscript.[40]

Why Christine Henry would develop such an interest in the journal is not known and there is no reason to believe that Christine was actually the Mrs. Bethune to whom reference has been made by Gough. Indeed, if the journal had remained in Montreal with Alexander Henry, and if Robert Henry did not actually take steps to remove it, the possibility exists that

---

[39]*Documents*, 456-57.

[40]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, xv.

the Mrs. Bethune being referred to is Margaret Bethune, *nee* Kittson, the wife of Norman Bethune. Added to this, when consideration is given to the fact that Coventry registered the copied manuscript *in Montreal*, the likelihood that the original journal still existed in and had been copied in that city is strongly suggested.

From this perspective, the missing portion of the journal, the period from May 17, 1811 to November 15, 1813, takes on considerable importance. During this period the younger Henry was stationed largely in the Saskatchewan River Department, in the area where, as has been posited, Alexander Henry met and became involved with an unknown Indian woman who became the mother of William Henry. It seems likely that it was during this missing period that the Younger and William Henry discovered the identity of William's mother and that that information may have been recorded in the journal. Having published *Travels* earlier, having given the Elder an idealized character, and having taken pains to not admit his involvements with Indian women, Norman Bethune (whether he was the ghost writer or not) and the elder Henry would have experienced considerable unease when they discovered the existence of this type of information in the Younger's journal.

In addition, it is also during this period that discussions with regard to the North West Company response to Astor's Pacific moves were being held, not only in Company meetings, but among the wintering partners beyond the confines of the conference table. It is clear from the Minutes of the Company meeting that, on July 15, 1811,[41] many partners were in deep disagreement over decisions being made by the North West Company management with regard to Astor's South West Fur Company, and wished to see changes made in terms of how the trade would be prosecuted. Given the continuing attempts by

---

[41]*Documents*, 267.

Alexander Henry, the Elder, to influence affairs in the North West Company, this information may have been of tremendous importance to the elder Henry because it may have revealed how and through whom he may have been influencing events in that Company. If the journal was left in Montreal for the above reasons, it would seem that the elder Henry and/or Norman Bethune may have removed and discarded all portions which may have shed light on the Elder's attempts to influence affairs in the northwest.

It would seem, then, that between 1815 and 1824 the younger Henry's journal was in Montreal, undergoing much scrutiny by the elder Henry and Norman Bethune. That it was not consigned entirely to the flames is due, perhaps, mostly to the influence of Julia Henry, the Elder's daughter, and Julia Henry, the Elder's wife, for it is conceivable that both women could have waged a considerable battle to preserve the Younger's account, in honour of his memory and in gratitude for the benefits he had bestowed on them in his will. It is also conceivable that, as a result of the firm stand they had taken, a compromise solution was agreed upon between the parties; a decision was taken to turn the journal, with the compromising portion removed, over to an expert who would attempt to make it ready for publication. It is into this possible family squabble that the name of George Coventry enters.

The introduction of the name serves only to further complicate the already confusing Henry saga. According to both Coues and Gough, Coventry was the man who transcribed the original Henry journal and registered it in Montreal on February 20, 1824. When we look into the historical background of George Coventry, however, we are confronted with the supposed fact that Coventry did not emigrate to Upper Canada until 1835 and that, prior to that year, he had lived in London, England, and had "demonstrated his interest in literary pursuits by publishing a book on the letters of

Junius in 1825 and in 1830 a work on the revenues of the Church of England."[42] Talman does not credit George Coventry with having had anything to do with the younger Henry's journal. Indeed, the only way that Coventry could have worked on the journal was if he had journeyed to Montreal before 1824. Since the historical record does not allow that Coventry made such a journey, the question arises: did George Coventry actually transcribe the younger Henry's journal or was it done by someone else using his name? The possibility that the transcription was done by John Henry does not exist because he did not return to Lower Canada after his quick departure in 1812.

In this matter of Coventry, Norman Bethune, once more, appears to be the most likely suspect. Either he used Coventry's name falsely or we must accept that Coventry did make a trip to Montreal some time before 1824, the year when the journal was registered. It is known, from his letter of January 27, 1822 that Norman was travelling to several cities in England during that year and that he proposed "leaving L'pool for N. York on the 1 April -- unless it may be of consequence to me to remain a month longer."[43] The possibility exists that Norman Bethune met George Coventry when he spent these months visiting several merchants in England for Coventry was, during that year, "working in his father's merchant firm in London."[44] It is, therefore, extremely likely that since Coventry had possibly already engaged to get his first book published, he agreed to travel to Montreal and have a look at the younger Henry's journal. There Coventry may have been confronted with either an already

---

[42]J.J. Talman, "George Coventry", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* IX: 163-64, 163.

[43]Waldon, Appendix B, vi.

[44]Talman, 163.

copied journal, or he may have faithfully transcribed what was left of the original and, his job being complete, taken the entire journal and had it registered. Had Coventry been given the original manuscript, especially considering his already having established an interest in original material, he would not have walked away from the challenge of being the first to arrange for the publication of the younger Henry's journal. Because he may not have had the originals at hand, Coventry possibly underestimated the value of the material and, hence, took steps to have it registered.

That historians have two replicas of certain portions of the journal may not necessarily be blamed on Coventry solely because, in the opinion of Coues, one replica "agrees exactly with certain other writings known to be Coventry's."[45] Before such a conclusion can be accepted, experts should have examined not only Coventry's but Norman Bethune's style of writing to determine whether there is a remote possibility that Norman Bethune may have been the individual who had engaged in "editorial rewriting"[46] of one replica. The evidence accumulated here seems to suggest that the rewriting of one replica of the younger Henry's journal may have been attempted before it came into Coventry's hand. Coventry may not have been, therefore, "one so profoundly ignorant of the whole subject of which it treats that he could hardly do anything else than copy what he found, in the most servile and wooden-headed manner imaginable."[47] Rather, the evidence seems to point to Coventry's having had a much higher regard and respect for historical documents than Norman Bethune, and historians should, perhaps, be grateful for his possibly having safeguarded the tampered copy from further disrespect

---

[45]Henry, *Journal*, vol. 1, xii.

[46]Ibid, xii.

[47]Ibid.

by taking the appropriate step of registering, in full, the documents which came into his hand.

Angus Bethune's 1815 visit to Montreal and his having turned the younger Henry's journal over to the Elder seems to have resulted not only in the birth of another Henry legend but in the many discrepancies surrounding the history of the younger Henry's journal. However, were it not for his having taken the journal there, and were it not for the chance choice of Coventry as a second possible ghost-writer, historians may not today have a still important historical document from which to reconstruct much of western Canada's history. Before we leave the matter of the younger Henry's journal, however, one more point should be mentioned. If George Coventry was brought in by Norman Bethune as a possible ghost-writer of the journal, two matters worthy of further consideration are therefore introduced. Either Norman Bethune was not the writer of the elder Henry's *Travels*, or his enthusiasm for such work having been tempered by age and experience, he felt himself to have been not quite up to such an undertaking. From the perspective of this research, and especially when consideration is given to John Henry, the first of these alternatives seems more likely.

Unfortunately, on his first journey back to civilization since entering the northwest, Angus Bethune seems to have made another terrible mistake; he took with him, to Montreal, a full-blooded Indian woman who was, more than likely, "the Clatsop girl [he] took to wife at Fort George in 1814."[48] In Montreal, it seems Angus' "baby was baptised at St. Gabriel Street Church."[49] Given the negative attitudes toward relationships with Indian women which we have reported as being strongly indicated in members of the Montreal community,

---

[48]Smith, 65.

[49]Ibid.

it is likely that it was at this time that Angus fell into active disrepute with his younger brother. To have consorted with Indians in Indian country would, perhaps, have been understandable to Norman Bethune, but to bring his latest consort to Montreal, to introduce her into the thick of the social crowd which was Norman's everyday world, would have been an unforgivable insult to the upright Norman. We have no record of the immediate steps taken by the latter against his elder brother. This much can be surmised; Angus' reception by Norman and his crowd could not have been very encouraging.

After his 1815 visit to Montreal, Angus Bethune seems to have become a changed man. Although he continued actively to pursue his employer's interests in China, California, Alaska, and elsewhere, his experiences during this period, and especially the supply difficulties associated with his 1817 leadership of the Cox expedition across the Rocky Mountains, may have made it clear to him that the North West Company, as managed by the Montreal group of McTavish, McGillivray and Company, had overextended itself and was, too carelessly, exposing its wintering partners, the ones on whose shoulders the wealth of the company was being produced, to too many hardships. The violence which many of his friends experienced at this time, as a result of the Selkirk interference in the northwest, would additionally have served to turn Angus away from the defence of a company run by those in Montreal who had so insulted him.

Whatever may have been his justification, after bringing the majority of his brigade across the Rocky Mountains, amid "perils, hardships, and death[,] Bethune left the party in June 1817 at the English (upper Churchill) River, and his whereabouts are not known until November 1818 when, according to James Keith, he unexpectedly turned up at Fort George with an "unusual accession of Gentlemen of one kind or other."[50]

---

[50]Russell, 85.

It would be of considerable benefit to be able to identify the unknown gentlemen with whom Bethune had kept company during that crucial year. Whoever they were, their trail led Angus Bethune back to Dr. John McLoughlin, whom he must have known for many years before, since McLoughlin had been in charge of Kaministiquia[51] during the period when Bethune was serving his early apprenticeship under Alexander Henry, the Younger.[52]

The relationship between these two men was based, however, on far more than just friendship. About 1810, Dr. McLoughlin had "married Marguerite Waddens, a daughter of Jean-Etiènne Waddens,"[53] whose existence was unknown to Veronique and the other Montreal Waddins. Angus was the first to have discovered her during his stay in Indian country. If he had intimated to Norman, during his 1815 trip to Montreal that this mixed-blood Marguerite existed, that news would have been more than sufficient cause for Norman to take the steps which would separate his mother from her mixed-blood illegitimate sister. It is therefore significant that the next generation of Bethunes would begin to believe that Veronique Waddin was the daughter of Professor Wadden of Berne.

Dr. McLoughlin's Marguerite was, however, living evidence of Jean-Etiènne Waddin's indiscretion in Indian country. She was the daughter of an unknown Indian woman, "a Cree princess, the daughter of Chief Blue Bird,"[54] but she was also

> not to be confused with her half-sister who was born in Montreal to Marie Joseph Waddin, educated at the Ursuline Convent, and was never heard of

---

[51]W. Kaye Lamb, "John McLoughlin," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VIII: 575-81, 575.

[52]Russell, 85.

[53]Lamb, 580.

[54]Smith, 42.

> again. The Marguerite who was born in the Indian country about 1775, was at least eight years younger than the other Marguerite Waddin in Montreal. This Cree Marguerite was the half-sister of ... Veronique, which makes her the aunt of ... Angus Bethune, whom this Indian Marguerite knew very well since she married Angus's friend and business associate in the North West Company, Dr. John McLoughlin, later known as the 'Father of Oregon'.[55]

Not only were McLoughlin and Angus Bethune connected by marriage, they also shared a dislike of the social situation in Montreal and a seeming aversion to violence. In the case of Dr. McLoughlin, he had probably learned an important lesson early in life, as a result of his having had to leave Montreal due to an act of violence on his part. Despite having been educated as a doctor, he had been suddenly forced to leave that city and join the fur trade because of "an incident involving an army officer that made it prudent for [him] to leave the province."[56] McLoughlin seems to have been a hardworking, well-meaning, and honest man. The violence which was spawned by the Selkirk challenge to the North West Company did not inspire in him ongoing commitment to that Company. That he became involved reluctantly, was arrested, and subsequently "found not guilty at a trial at York (Toronto) in October 1818"[57] speaks loudly of his ability to maintain a cool head during the storm which had surrounded him.

During the following year, the frustration which was evidently building in Dr. McLoughlin and Angus Bethune exploded at the annual Company meeting. With the able

---

[55]Ibid.

[56]Lamb, 575.

[57]Ibid.

assistance of Bethune and sixteen others, Dr. McLoughlin was

> able to defeat William McGillivray's efforts to have the existing agreement between the wintering partners and the Montreal agents, McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, extended or renewed, and by the autumn he was prepared to come to terms with the HBC. Through Samuel Gale, Selkirk's lawyer, he inquired anonymously in London whether the wintering partners 'could obtain from the Hudson's Bay Company their outfits and supplies of goods & sanction to trade' if they agreed to send their furs to the HBC."[58]

It is clear, from this sequence of events, that Dr. McLoughlin had gained, in a short period of time, the trust of the majority of the North West Company wintering partners. As Lamb would put it: "The ascendancy McLoughlin had gained over the partners is evidenced by Gale's comment to Lady Selkirk that 'the wintering partner' who posed the question possessed 'influence to withdraw almost every useful member of the North West Association'."[59] It is doubtful, however, that Dr. McLoughlin could have gained that trust without the legwork which Angus Bethune seems to have done, on their behalf, during that year when he disappeared so mysteriously from the fur trade and from the Red River violence.

It is not known exactly when Angus Bethune married Louisa McKenzie. Their first son, Donald, was born in 1821[60] which suggests that their marriage would have occurred at about that year. His marriage into the McKenzie family is interesting for several reasons. First, in a letter to Askin of January 18, 1800, the elder Henry had observed:

---

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid.

[60]See Smith foldout.

> the old N West Company is all in the Hands of McTavish. Frobisher and McKinsey (sic)[61] is out. the latter went off in a pet, the cause as far as I can learn was who should be the first -- McTavish or McK -- and as there could not be two Cesars (sic) in Rome one must remove."[62]

Although Sir Alexander McKenzie had made his grand discoveries while serving with the North West Company, he had always been a thorn in the side of Simon McTavish and William McGillivray.[63] And despite the fact that Roderick McKenzie had "declined to follow his cousin when he left the North West Company; and the relations between them were strained for many years,"[64] Roderick did not actively turn against his first cousin. It can be suggested, however, based on his subsequent actions, that he was not necessarily in total agreement with North West Company practices under McTavish and his successors. In this regard, it is not surprising that, in his later years, Roderick McKenzie "devoted himself to gathering materials for the history of the fur-trade; and much of this material was afterwards published by his son-in-law, the Hon. L.R. Masson, in his *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*."[65] In Sir Alexander and Roderick McKenzie, therefore, there are many of the same signs of disagreement with the North West Company in many areas of its endeavours which we have maintained were one of the strongest forces motivating the actions of Alexander Henry, the Elder.

Although, in the above letter, Henry does not indicate

---

[61]According to Quaife, Henry is here alluding to Sir Alexander Mackenzie.

[62]Askin, vol. 2, 274-75.

[63]*Documents*, 474-75.

[64]Ibid, 478.

[65]*Documents*, 478-79.

that his preference in the struggle for dominance of the North West Company was Mackenzie, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Henry was not particularly fond of Simon McTavish. In reporting to Askin on the latter's death, Henry recounted, with some sarcasm, the extent of McTavish's wealth and the high-handed manner in which he had doled it out to several individuals and institutions. He ended his report on the matter as follows: "I have been thus particular as you Well knew the Man, & will as much as any body be sensible of the Loss the Country has sustained."[66] The first portion of these lines leaves the distinct impression that he only reported on the matter of McTavish's death because he knew that Askin regarded him highly, but that he personally would have preferred not to even mention the name of McTavish.

That he maintained a close friendship with the McKenzie family can also be asserted. In this regard, it is interesting to note that, beyond Montreal at the time, strong links began to develop between the McKenzie and Bethune families. Roderick's younger brother, Henry, had married the youngest of Rev. John Bethune's daughters, Ann, in 1815,[67] and "during the Selkirk controversy of 1814-18 [Henry McKenzie] was particularly charged with the publicity campaign of the North West Company. [But] [a]fter the union of 1821 ... he was denied access to the books of the Company."[68]

When Angus Bethune married Louisa McKenzie, his allegiance to those who had good reasons for opposing the North West Company was therefore further strengthened. In the life of this one individual several forces seem to have combined to make him a rebel. As the son of Veronique Waddin, he had reason to remember the unavenged murder of his *Canadien*

---

[66]Askin, 424.

[67]*Documents*, 477.

[68]Ibid.

forefather, Jean Etiènne Waddin. As the nephew of Marguerite Waddin, he had reason to dislike the treatment which had been given to those members of his family who had remained close to their Indian ancestry. As the brother of Norman Bethune, he had reason to detest the treatment which had been meted out to him by his brother and the Montreal community because of his personal involvements with Indian women. Each of these reasons could be blamed, by a passionate mind, on two connected causes -- The North West Company and the vaguely defined matter of an Ideology of Race which seems to have begun to affect many relationships and families.

On the other hand, Angus Bethune also had reasons to be a powerful advocate for change in another direction. Through Alexander Henry, Dr. McLoughlin, Marguerite Waddin, and the McKenzies there was another force operating on him. That force demanded that the North West Company should be made to disappear. If Angus Bethune was to be free of the violence and social exclusion which clearly seemed to be ascendant in his life, it would have been up to him to form a new allegiance, a western allegiance, free of racial interferences by members of the Montreal community who dictated the practices of the North West Company. That such an allegiance was formed is clearly evident in the struggle which Angus Bethune and Dr. McLoughlin waged against the North West Company. That struggle saw them elected, in 1821, as the two representatives who were chosen to travel to London, England, to represent the dissatisfied western partners in their battle to "negotiate with the HBC on their behalf."[69] For Alexander Henry, the Elder, the man who had waged a constant battle against the North West Company, the achievement of Angus Bethune and Dr. McLoughlin must have been a source of considerable joy as he lay, at last, on his deathbed.

---

[69]Lamb, 576.

CHAPTER VI - CONCLUSIONS

At the time of Alexander Henry's death, his original biographer suggested that there were relatives and friends who wished to "throw a veil over his faults."[1] That veil seems to have remained fixed in place for over a century and a half. It was so skilfully erected that the man and his work have, almost unquestioningly, assumed legendary proportions in terms of our historiography. That the biographer, from whom much of what we know of Alexander Henry, the Elder, has come, was aware of many unwholesome rumours and allegations then surrounding his subject's life can also be surmised. Waldon's summation of his general remarks, prior to his bountiful praises of Henry, is worth quoting:

> He thinks that the biographer should not go farther afield into contemporary events than those "aspects which directly concern his hero." The biographer must often look with doubtful idea on his sources of information. Sometimes material is to be found only with relatives or friends of the subject, who will often with praiseworthy charity, wish to "throw a veil over his faults" and "ascribe his action to the best motives." It is the duty of the biographer, however, not to say nothing but good of the dead, but "both for his own sake and for the sake of the world, to confine his attention to say nothing but what is *true* of him."[2]

Unlike the original biographer and Waldon, this research has not allowed Alexander Henry to emerge unscathed. Although we

---

[1]See next footnote.

[2]Freda F. Waldon, "Alexander Henry, esq., of Montreal, Fur Trader, Adventurer, and Man of Letters," Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 1930; copied by Hamilton Public Library, 1949, 30-1.

have "too few legends in Canada on which to found the literature of the future,"[3] the many questions raised here disqualify Henry as a witness, particularly with regard to matters pertaining to Indians; his evidence cannot be accepted uncritically because of the biases which existed in his life and which carry over into the writing which bears his name.

To his credit and because he was fully aware of the discrepancy between the biographical details being provided him, most likely by Norman Bethune, and the rumours in circulation about his subject, Henry's biographer decided to cast aside Bethune's "praiseworthy charity" and "to confine his attention to say nothing but what is *true* of him." This generous action was accomplished by our biographer through the astute decision to say nothing about Henry's family and as little as possible about his life. This professional silence, by one with an obvious sense of historical 'truth', may have been politically and socially expedient at the time, especially given the possibility of personal harm which exposure of such matters would unleash from the new elite who controlled the Montreal social and economic world. Further, our biographer's decision to remain 'silent' may have been, given the circumstances, his only means of ensuring professional survival. But he, too, left a code for the inquisitive historian to follow, and it is the historian's responsibility, through continuing research, to remove the 'veil' which was thrown over 'the faults' of Alexander Henry, the Elder.

Implicit in the vision of the new society being articulated in the lives of Alexander Henry, Norman Bethune, and many others was a social evil -- a concept of society which held as one of its basic tenets the exclusion of those of Indian or mixed blood from that society. It is no great surprise, therefore, that the biggest loser in the saga of

---

[3]Ibid, 100.

Alexander Henry, the Elder, was his mixed-blood son, William Henry. As a result of an uncomfortable relationship with his uncle, John George McTavish, William returned to Montreal, after the merger of the two companies in 1821. That Norman Bethune was in control of his father's business and had married Margaret Kittson did not help his position. It seems, however, that the part he had played in ending his father's fur trade dream did not go unpunished by his father and that may have served to create an even more uncomfortable situation than he had lived with in fur trade country. His marriage to a member of the disgraced Felton family, further, did not serve to bring about reconciliation. Subsequently, he quietly removed himself from Montreal and settled in Newmarket, Ontario.

From thenceforth, Norman Bethune became the authority on matters pertaining to Alexander Henry and his family. This research has shown that Bethune's information is decidedly biased on almost all matters related to the Indian background and other not so wholesome aspects of the Henry family. His influence also extends to the Bethune family. As another Bethune would later testify, the obfuscation of anything to do with the record of Indian heritage in the Bethune line was so complete that later Bethunes were amazed to discover that Norman Henry Bethune had actually descended from Angus Bethune and an 'Indian' wife. Still, in the end, it is appropriate that Angus Bethune, the man who did not deny his full ancestry, who fought on and did not give up despite social ostracism, who clung tenaciously to the woman he had loved despite her Indianness, should have produced, from the mixture of these two families with aboriginal peoples, the great Canadian hero bearing the ironic name of Norman Henry Bethune.

For the traditional historian of western Canada, perhaps the most significant of the findings in this research is that, as a result of the 'schism' in the Henry 'family', it was not the violent North West Company faction or the Astor American

faction which would win the day. Rather, the allegiance which emerged victorious, but only for a short time, was a compromise; it was the view which was passed on, by the dissatisfied western, wintering partners of the North West Company, to the imperial Hudson's Bay Company. Although that company was to be the major beneficiary of that new allegiance, it should be remembered that, many years later, it too would be faced, in Red River, with the same challenge by the later descendants of the wintering partners. But, the original expression of this social evil which was to cause so much havoc in the lives of Native Peoples emanated from Montreal and eventually pervaded all of Western Canadian society and history. It should not be forgotten, however, that it was first expressed in the life experiences of a body of 'freemen' and explorers (turned travel writers), among the earliest of whom was Alexander Henry, the Elder.

In this regard, another personal note is in order. This thesis was not pursued from the patron-client perspective for several reasons. I wanted to pursue the matter of bias in a work which historians have treasured. I wanted to explore how that bias could have come about and how it has been allowed to continue. I wanted to give some expression of how that bias may have caused damage to historians' work. I wanted to raise questions which could lead to a debate on why and how the bias and the damage are perpetuated. These are difficult matters to pursue and concentrating the thesis on patron-client relations hindered the full expression of these largely ignored areas. Patron-client relations tended to restrict the main effort and, had that approach not been abandoned, the thesis would have been led down a well-worn path and would have served only to explain, once again, what happened among those who had the privilege of having participated in a patron-client relationship. Concentrating on that type of history makes great heroes of Henry/Askin/Johnson/Astor; it continues the Whig strain in the historiography. This latter

is the characteristic which the descendants of the Loyalists, such as Norman Bethune, have inflicted on our history. Rather than perpetuate this type of exclusive history, I wanted to pursue the story of those who were not privileged, who were excluded from that history, who were marginalized as a result of the process which the Loyalist descendants begun. The roles played by Angus Bethune, William Henry, Dr. McLoughlin, and Marguerite and Véronique Waddin have been minimized and largely ignored and the biases in Henry's life clearly link this minimization to race, not to discussions of patron-client relationships.

It is hoped that this research has given new insights into the life of Alexander Henry, as an individual. Hopefully, it has also provided a meaningful discussion on the times in which he lived, and offered some explanations which would help to understand the evolving societies which he influenced. Although the research points to the disturbing matter of race, and has attempted to not fall into the pitfalls which are inherent in any discussion of that subject, it is clear that the matter could not be avoided. In particular, an attempt has been made to not fall prey to the worst extremes of American history on race. In this regard, one of Barbara Fields' comments is worth repeating:

> The notion of race has played a role in the way Americans think about their history similar to that once played by the frontier and, if anything, more durable. Long after the notion of the frontier has lost its power to do so, that of race continues to tempt many people into the mistaken belief that American experience constitutes the great exception in world history, the great deviation from patterns that seem to hold for everybody else. Elsewhere, classes may have struggled over power and privilege, over oppression and exploitation, over competing senses of justice and right; but in the

United States, these were secondary to the great, overarching theme of race.[4]

In Canadian historiography and especially with regard to the historiography of the west, the opposite situation, as defined by Fields applies. All of the other themes -- class, religion, age, gender, and culture -- have been effectively applied to the study of Western Canada's history, but that vaguely defined term, race, has not been discussed, except in terms of unexplored references to 'European bias,' 'Ethnicity,' and 'Ethnogenesis,' themes which bear little on the lived experiences of those who have been excluded and marginalized. This work has attempted to prove that none of these terms can properly explain the development of certain social aspects in the society. What is needed is a methodology which can explain the workings of the process of exclusion. Because race was so involved in that process, that methodology would have to have a bio-socio-cultural emphasis. But the biological aspect of the subject, in this case race in contrast to gender, seems to paralyse the thought processes of most individuals (not only Henry and his crowd) and, as a result, an appropriate methodology does not exist or has not been given a name. I chose, therefore, to coin a term for it -- 'Ethnodetrition,' -- defined as *the slow process of exclusion whereby cultures can be worn down, broken up and, in the more extreme cases, destroyed.*

It is hoped, moreover, that this work has shown how a racial ideology first expresses itself, how it is perpetuated, how it is spread through a society, and how central the subject is to any discussion of Canada's history. Most important of all, it is hoped that others with a passion for Clio's craft will begin to explore the subject's centrality,

---

[4]Barbara J. Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History", *Region, Race, and Reconstruction*, ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford U.P, 1982, 143-176), 143.

to recognize its importance and, while avoiding its pitfalls, continue to fill in so much of the missing pieces which still remain hidden from view because of the stultifying effect of the 'legendary veil.'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akenson, Donald Harman. *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922, An International Perspective*. Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.

Altick, Richard D. *Victorian People and Ideas: A Companion for the modern reader of Victorian literature*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1973.

Armour, David A. "Alexander Henry." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VI. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966: 316-319.

Axtell, James. "Indians, Moralists, and Historians." *Reviews in American History* II (1974): 33-38.

---. *The Invasion Within. The Contests of Cultures in Colonial North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Barkley, M. "The Loyalist Tradition in New Brunswick." *Acadiensis* 4.2 (Spring 1975): 3-45.

Bentley, D.M.R. "Savage, Degenerate, and Dispossessed: Some Sociological, Anthropological, and Legal Backgrounds to the Depiction of Native Peoples in Early Long Poems on Canada," *Canadian Literature* 124-125 (1990): 76-90.

Bell, David V. J. "The Loyalist Tradition in Canada." *Canadian History Before Confederation: Essays and Interpretations*. ed. J. M. Bumsted. Second ed. Georgetown, Ontario: Irwin Dorsey, 1979.

Berkhofer, Robert F. Jr. "Space, Time, Culture and the New Frontier." *Agricultural History* XXXVII (1964): 21-30.

Best, Geoffrey. *Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1875*. London: Fontana, 1979.

Bethune, A. N. *Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan, D.D., L.L.D: First Bishop of Toronto*. Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1870.

Bishop, Charles Aldrich. *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study*. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974.

Boorman, Sylvia. *John Toronto: A Biography of Bishop*

Strachan. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1969.

Brown, Jennifer S. H. "Company Men and Native Families: Fur Trade Social and Domestic Relations in Canada's Old Northwest." Ph. D. Diss.: University of Chicago, 1976.

---. *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980.

Brown, Wallace and Hereward Senior. *Victorious in Defeat: The Loyalists in Canada*. Toronto: Methuen, 1984.

Bryce, George Dr. *The Romantic Settlement of Lord Selkirk's Colonists: The Pioneers of Manitoba*. Toronto: Musson, 1909.

Bumsted, J. M. "Loyalists and Nationalists: An Essay on the Problem of Definition." *Interpreting Canada's Past: Before Confederation*. ed. J. M. Bumsted. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Burn, William Laurence. *The Age of Equipoise: A Study of the Mid-Victorian Generation*. London: Unwin University, 1968.

Butterfield, H. *The Whig Interpretation of History*. London: G. Bell, 1959.

Campbell, Marjorie Wilkins. *The North West Company*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983.

Canadian History Before Confederation: Essays and Interpretations. ed. J. M. Bumsted. Second ed. Georgetown, Ontario: Irwin-Dorsey, 1979.

Casagrande, Joseph B. "Ojibwa Bear Ceremonialism: The Persistence of a Ritual Attitude." *Acculturation in the Americas: Proceedings and Selected Papers of the XXIXth International Congress of Americanists*. ed. Sol Tax. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952: 113-117.

Catherwood, Mary Hartwell. *The White Islander*. New York: The Century, 1893.

Clark, George Kitson. *The Making of Victorian England*. Ford Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford. London: Methuen, 1962.

Condon, Ann Gorman. *The envy of the American States: The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick*. Fredericton, N. B.: New Ireland, 1984.

Creighton, Donald. *The Empire of the St. Lawrence*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1956.

Culture in History. ed. Stanley Diamond. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.

Dailey, R. C. "The Role of Alcohol among the North American Indian Tribes as Reported in *The Jesuit Relations*." *Anthropologica* X (1968): 45-57.

Danziger, Edmund Jefferson Jr. *The Chippewas of Lake Superior*. 1st. ed. The Civilization of the American Indian 148. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978.

Davidson, Gordon Charles. *The North West Company*. University of California publications in history. New York: Russell & Russell, 1967. Reissue.

Densmore, Frances. *Chippewa Customs*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, Borealis Books, 1979.

Devine, Heather. "Roots in the Mohawk Valley: Sir William Johnson's Legacy in the Northwest Company." *The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference, Mackinac Island, Michigan, 1991*, ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown, W.J. Eccles and Donald P. Heldman, East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1994: 217-242.

Dillelay, Tom D. "The Great Debate on the First Americans." *Anthropology Today* 7.4 (1991): 12-13.

Documents Relating to the North West Company. ed. William Stewart Wallace. XXII Publications of The Champlain Society. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934.

Drink in Canada: Historical Essays. ed. Cheryl Krasnick Warsh. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.

Duffy, Dennis. *Gardens, Covenants, Exiles: Loyalism in the Literature of Upper Canada/Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Dugas, G. *The Canadian West: its discovery by the Sieur de La Verendrye: its development by the fur-trading companies, down to the year 1822*. translated from the French of Abbé Dugas. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1905.

Dunning, Robert William. *Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa*. Toronto: University of Toronto

Press, 1959.

Eccles, William John. *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760.* Histories of the American frontier. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

Eleven Exiles: Accounts of Loyalists of the American Revolution. ed. Phillis R. Blakeley and John N. Grant. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1982.

Ellis, M. "Loyalist Attitudes." *Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces.* ed. G. Rawlyk. The Carleton Library 35. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967.

Ennals, Peter. "William Gray Bethune" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VII. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966: 74-76.

---. "Robert Henry." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VIII. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966: 390-391.

Farrell, David R. "John Askin." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* V. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966:37-39.

Fields, Barbara J. "Ideology and Race in American History." *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in honor of C. Vann Woodward.* ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982: 143-176.

Fogel, Robert William and Stanley L. Engerman. *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1974.

Forbes, Jack D. "Frontiers in American History and the Role of the Frontier Historian." *Ethnohistory* XV (1968): 203-235.

Foster, John E. "The Coutry-Born in the Red River Settlement: 1820-1850." Ph. D. Diss. : University of Alberta, 1972.

---. "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West." *The Prairie West: Historical Readings.* ed. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984: 86-99.

Franchère, Gabriel. *The Journal of Gabriel Franchère: Journal of a Voyage on the North West Coast of North America during the Years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814.* transcriber and translator, Wessie Tipping Lamb. ed. W.

Kaye Lamb. Publications of The Champlain Society XLV. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1969.

Francis, Daniel. "Traders and Indians." *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*. ed. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984: 67-68.

Friesen, Gerald. *The Canadian Prairies: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1974.

Giraud, Marcel. *The Metis in the Canadian West*. 2 vols. trans. George Woodcock. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986.

Godsell, Phillip H. "The Ojibwa Indian." *Canadian Geographical Journal* 4 (1931): 50-66.

Grant, John Webster. *Moon of Wintertime. Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

Gray, John Morgan. *Lord Selkirk of Red River*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1963.

Greenwood, F. Murray. "John Henry." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VIII. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966: 387-390.

Griffiths, Naomi Elizabeth Saundaus. *The Acadians: Creation of a People*. Frontenac Library 6. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1973.

Henry, Alexander, The Younger. *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry, Fur Trader of the Northwest Company, and of David Thompson, Official Geographer and Explorer of the same Company 1799-1814: Exploration and Adventure among the Indians on the Red, Saskatchewan, Missouri, and Columbia Rivers*. ed. Elliott Coues. Minneapolis, Minn.: Ross & Haines, 1897; reprint. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Ross & Haines, 1965. 3 vols.

---. *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger 1799-1814*. ed. Barry M. Gough. Publications of the Champlain Society LVI, LVII. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1988. 2 vols.

Henry, Alexander, The Elder. *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776*. New York: I. Riley, 1809.

---. *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776*. New York: I. Riley, 1809; ed. James Bain Toronto: George N. Morang, 1901; reprint Toronto: Morang, 1966.

---. *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776*. ed. Milo M. Quaife. Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1921.

Hickerson, Harold and Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin. *Chippewa Indians: The Red Lake and Pembina Chippewa*. Chippewa Indians I. American Indian Ethnohistory: North Central and Northeastern Indians. New York: Garland Publishing, 1974.

---. *Land Tenure of the Rainy Lake Chippewa at the Beginning of the 19th. Century*. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology 2. Washington: Smithsonian Press, 1967.

---. "The Genesis of a Trading Post Band: The Pembina Chippewa." *Ethnohistory* 3.4 (Fall 1956): 289-345.

Holman, Frederick Van Voorhies. *Dr. John McLoughlin: The Father of Oregon*. Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark, 1907.

Houghton, Walter Edwards. *The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.

Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays. editor. Christian Feest. Forum 11. Aachen: Rader Verlag, 1987.

Innes, Harold Adams. *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*. S. D. Clark and W. T. Easterbrook. Revised ed. Canadian University Paperbooks. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962.

Interpreting Canada's Past: Before Confederation. ed. J. M. Bumsted. vol. 1. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Jameson, Mrs. Anna. *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1923.

Johnson, William, Sir. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. ed. James Sullivan. Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1921. vol. III.

Jones, Peter, (Kahkewaquonaby). *History of the Ojebway Indians: With especial reference to their conversion to Christianity*. CIHM/ICMH microfiche series. no. 35737. London: A. W. Bennett, 1861.

Juricek, John T. "American Usage of the Word 'Frontier' from Colonial Times to Frederick Jackson Turner." *Proceedings* CX (1966): 10-34.

Kenyon, Walter. "White-water Archaeology." *People and Pelts: Selected Papers of the Second North American Fur Trade Conference*. ed. Malvina Bolus. Winnipeg: Peguis, 1972.

Kirby, W. *The U.E.: A Tale of Upper Canada*. CIHM/ICMH microfiche series. no. 36153. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Lamb, W. Kaye. "John McLoughlin." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VIII. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966: 575-581.

Landes, Ruth. *Ojibwa Sociology*. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937.

---. *Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968.

---. "The Ojibwa of Canada." *Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples*. ed. Margaret Mead. McGraw-Hill Publications in Sociology. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937.

---. *The Ojibwa Woman*. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology 31. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

Lee, John Thomas. "Captain Jonathan Carver: Additional Data." *Proceedings* (1912): 103-104.

Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest: récits de voyages, lettres et rapports inédits relatifs au Nord-Ouest canadien. ed. Louis Rodrigue Masson. 2 vols. Quebec: Coté, 1889-1890.

Livingston, H. A. "Hard-Boiled Henry." *Canadian Magazine* 83.3 (1935).

Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada. ed. James John Talman. Publications of the Champlain Society 27. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1946.

Lurie, Nancy Oestreich. "The World's On-Going Protest Demonstration: North American Indian Drinking Patterns." *Pacific Historical Review* XL (1971): 311-332.

MacAndrew, Craig and Robert B. Edgerton. *Drunken Comportment: A Social Explanation*. London: Nelson, 1970.

Mackenzie, Alexander Sir. *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in 1789 and 1793*. London: 1801; Classics of American History. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1903.

MacLaren, I.S. "Alexander Mackenzie and the Landscapes of Commerce." *Studies in Canadian Literature* 7 (1982): 141-50.

---. "Washington Irving's Problems with History and Romance in *Astoria*." *The Canadian Review of American Studies* 21.1 (Summer 1990): 1-13.

---. "Samuel Hearne's Accounts of the Massacre at Bloody Fall, 17 July 1771." *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature* 22.1 (Jan. 1991): 25-51.

---. "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author." *International Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue international d'études canadiennes* 5 (Spring/Printemps 1992): 39-68.

MacKinnon, Neil. *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist experience in Nova Scotia 1783-1791*. Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986.

MacNutt, W. S. "The Loyalists: A Sympathetic View." *Acadiensis* 6.1 (Autumn 1976): 3-20.

Martin, Chester. *Empire & Commonwealth: Studies in Governance and Self-Government in Canada*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1929.

Matthews, Geoffrey J., cartographer/designer. *Historical Atlas of Canada*. ed. Harris, R. Cole, v. 1; R. Louis Gentilcore, v. 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Michigan History Magazine v. 32 (1903): 474-475.

Miller, J. R. "From Riel to the Metis." *The Canadian Historical Review* 69 (1988): 1-20.

Mitchell, Elaine Allan. "John Thomas." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VI. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966: 766.

Montgomery, Franz. "Alexander Mackenzie's Literary Assistant." *Canadian Historical Review* XVIII (1937): 301-304.

Morice, A.G. "Sidelights on the Careers of Miles Macdonell and His Brothers," *Canadian Historical Review* 10 (December 1929).

Morton, A. S. *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71; being a history of Rupert's Land (The Hudson's Bay Company's territory) and of the North-West Territory (including the Pacific Slope)*. ed. Lewis G. Thomas. Second ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Morton, W. L. "The North West Company: Pedlars Extraordinary." *Minnesota History* 40.4 (1966): 157-165.

Nash, Gary B. *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America*. Prentice-Hall History of the American People Series. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974.

Nelson, William H. *The American Tory*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1980.

Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference. ed. Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

O'Meara, Walter. *The Savage Country*. Illus. Philip B. Parsons. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960.

Ontario Historical Society. *"None was ever better ...": The Loyalist Settlement of Ontario: Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society, Cornwall, June 1984*. With an introduction by S. F. Wise. ed. Dennis Carter-Edwards and John Witham. Cornwall: Ontario: Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Historical Society, 1984.

Peers, Laura L. "Rich Man, Poor Man, Beggarman, Chief: Saulteaux in the Red River Settlement, 1812-1833." *Papers of the Eighteenth Algonquin Conference*. editorial advisory committee. Mailhot, et al. ed. William Cowan. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1987.

Porter, Kenneth Wiggins. *John Jacob Astor: Business Man*. ed. N.S.B. Gras. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard

University Press, 1931.

Potter-MacKinnon, Janice. *While the Women Only Wept: Loyalist Refugee Women*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.

Rawick, George P. *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography -- From Sunup to Sundown*. Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies 11. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1972.

Ray, Arthur Joseph and Donald Freeman. *"Give Us Good Measure": An economic analysis of relations between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company before 1763* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.

---. *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

Reid, William D. *The Loyalists in Ontario: The Sons and Daughters of The American Loyalists of Upper Canada*. Lambertville, New Jersey: Hunterdon, 1973.

Rich, E. E. "Trade habits, economic motivation, among the Indians of North America." *Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science* XXVI.1 (1960): 35-53.

Ritzenthaler, Robert E. "Southwestern Chippewa." *Handbook of North American Indians* 15. ed. Bruce G. Trigger. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978.

Ronda, James P. *Astoria and Empire*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990.

Russell, Hilary. "Angus Bethune." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VIII. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966: 85-86.

Smith, Mary Larratt. *Prologue to Norman: The Canadian Bethunes*. Ottawa: Mosaic, 1976.

Stampp, Kenneth Milton. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*. New York: Vintage Books, 1989.

Stanley, George Francis Gilman. *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960.

Steinbring, Jack. "Ojibwa Culture: The Modern Situation and Problems." *Resolving Conflicts -- A Cross-Cultural*

Approach. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1967.

Stone, William Leete. *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart*. vol. I. Albany, N.Y.: J. Munsell, 1865.

Strachan, John. *John Strachan: Documents and Opinion*. ed. J. L. H. Henderson. The Carleton Library 44. Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1969.

Swainson, Donald. "Rieliana and the Structure of Canadian History." *Journal of Popular Culture* 14 (1980): 286-297.

Talman, J. J. "George Coventry." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* IX. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966: 163-164.

Tanner, Adrian. "The End of Fur Trade History." *Queen's Quarterly* 90.1 (1983): 176-191.

Tanner, John. *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner during Thirty Years Among the Indians in the Interior of North America*. ed. Edwin James. Reprint of the 1830 ed. Minneapolis, Minn.: Ross & Haines, 1956.

Tassé, Joseph. "Memoir of Charles de Langlade." *Wisconsin Historical Collections* 7 (1873): 123-187.

"That Myth Wawatam: A Symposium", *Michigan History Magazine* 7 (1923): 163-170.

The Debate on the Bourgeoisie and Social Change in French Canada, 1700-1850. ed. Dale Miquelon. Toronto: The Copp Clark, 1977.

The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas: The Debate on the Impact of the Canadian Environment. ed. Michael S. Cross. Issues in Canadian History. Toronto: The Copp Clark, 1970.

The Intent of Toynbee's History: A Cooperative Appraisal. ed. Edward T. Gargan. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1961.

The John Askin Papers: 1747-1820. 2 vols. Secretary-editor. Milo M. Quaife. Burton Historical Records. Detroit: The Detroit Library Commission, 1928.

The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations. ed. Shepard Krech, III. Vancouver:

University of British Columbia Press, 1984.

The United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths. ed. Leslie F. S. Upton. Issues in Canadian History. Toronto: The Copp Clark, 1967.

Thomas, L. G. "Historiography of the Fur Trade Era." *A Region of the Mind: Interpreting the Western Canadian Plains*. ed. Richard Allen. Canadian Plains Studies 1. Regina, Saskatchewan: Canadian Plains Studies Centre, University of Saskatchewan, 1973.

Toynbee, Arnold Joseph. *A Study of History*. Abridged by. D. C. Somervell. 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947.

Van Kirk, Sylvia. "John George McTavish." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VII. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966: 577-578.

---. *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Watson & Dwyer, 1980.

Vennum, Thomas, Jr. *Wild Rice and the Ojibway People*. St. Paul, Minnesota: Minessota Historical Society Press, 1988.

Voices from the Rapids: An Underwater Search for Fur Trade Artifacts, 1960-1973. ed. Robert C. Wheeler, et al. Minnesota Historical Archaeology Series; Publications of the Minnesota Historical Society 3. St. Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society, 1975.

Waldon, Freda F. "Alexander Henry, Esq., of Montreal, Fur Trader, Adventurer and Man of Letters." Master's Thesis. Columbia University, 1930.

Walker, James W. "The Canadian Indian in Historical Writing." *Historical Papers* (1971): 21-51.

Wells, Robin F. "Frontier Systems as a Sociocultural Type." *Papers in Anthropology* XIV (1973): 6-15.

Wilson, Bruce. "The Struggle for Wealth and Power at Fort Niagara 1775-1783." *Interpreting Canada's Past: Before Confederation* I. ed. J. M. Bumsted. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Wisconsin Historical Collections 19 (1910).

Wise, Sydney F. and Robert Craig Brown. *Canada Views the*

United States: Nineteenth-Century Political Attitudes. Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1967.

Young, A. H. *The Bethunes*. Ontario Historical Society, 1933.

Young, George Malcolm. *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age*. Second ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1953.